



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

**PART 11 OF 25**

**FILE NUMBER : 100-11392**

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: //

FBI

Date: 10/5/88

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

**AIRMAIL**

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (94-321)

SUBJECT: COLIN W. BELL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA  
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)  
BUDED 10/7/63

Re Buairtel 10/2/63.

On 10/5/63 Mr. SAMUEL E. VAN ARSDALE, residence address E. 10716 14th Avenue, Spokane, Washington, was contacted at his place of business, E. 1501 Trent, Spokane, by SA [REDACTED]

Mr. VAN ARSDALE stated he is the president and manager of Spokane O.K., Inc. and is also president of YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM. He said this is a conservative political action and educational group, primarily aimed against communism, and in promoting a better appreciation of our own country and government.

He said that the letter in question, the one dated 3/16/63, and signed by himself as President, Young Americans for Freedom, was not put out with the idea of indicating that the FBI was condemning the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, but with the hope that before young people went to such an institute they would have some idea on what to expect. He said they were aware of the type of speakers the AFEC had sponsored previously, and felt that a one-sided viewpoint was going to be presented that would not be in the best interests of the United States. He advised that he had already realized that they should not have used the name of the FBI as they did, and is sorry it was done.

3 - Bureau  
1 - Philadelphia  
1 - Seattle  
Dixon  
(5)

66 OCT 15 1966 Special Agent in Charge

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SE 94-321

Mr. VAN ARSDELL was instructed most firmly that he must not use the name of the FBI in such a manner in the future, and he stated emphatically that he would not. He said he is fully aware of the great work the FBI is doing in the field of security of our country and would certainly not want to reflect on it in any way.



# AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

100 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

HAROLD EVANS  
Chairman

HENRY J. CARROLL  
Honorary Chairman

CLARENCE E. J. J. J.  
Executive Secretary, Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL  
Executive Secretary

Locker 3

October 8, 1963

Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 enclosing a number of papers we had previously sent to you.

I'm sorry you are unable to see me on this matter but appreciate the action which is being taken to advise Mr. Samuel Arsdale to cease and desist from using the name of the F.B.I. in the manner noted in his communication of March 16, 1963. Since it is obviously important for us to know whether, in fact, he intends to cease and desist, may I ask you to let me know whether he had indicated his acceptance of your advice.

I appreciate your help and cooperation in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

*Colin W. Bell*  
Colin W. Bell  
Executive Secretary

CWB/nkn

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P.M. Williams  
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REC-115

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11392-383

10-10-1963

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REER

Mr. ~~John W.~~ Bell  
Executive Secretary  
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.  
100 North Fifteenth Street  
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Your letter of October 8th has been received.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: Captioned individual wrote to the Director on 9/27/63 to furnish information concerning the actions of one Sam Van Arsdale, Spokane, Washington. He related that his organization scheduled a High School Weekend Institute in Spokane, Washington, for a period April 5-7, 1968. He then advised of his receipt of information that Van Arsdale, President, Young Americans for Freedom (YAFF), Spokane, had written a letter dated 3/10/68, in which he indicated that "should high school students plan to attend the meeting, they should your future protection" inform the local office. (The FBI file # 100-361141-1000)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

(Note continued next page)

SECRET  
REF ID: A66000

12m

Mr. Colin W. Bell

He concluded by stating that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) regards this as a threat to free inquiry and that he desires to speak with the Director to determine what action the FBI plans to take in connection with the letter of Van Arsdale. He indicated that, once learning this information, his organization plans additional action against Van Arsdale and the Y

By airtel of 10/7/63 the Seattle Office advised that Van Arsdale had been contacted. He was apologetic for his use of the name of the FBI and assured Agents that his organization would not do it again.

AFSC is a pacifist group of Quakers dedicated to the abolition of nuclear arms and peaceful coexistence with Russia. This Committee with headquarters at Philadelphia, has not been investigated by the Bureau.

YAFF-Bufiles indicate its purposes are to enlist members from every school campus and various communities to organize programs to influence regular conditions to achieve conservative objectives.

OCT. 31, 1963

Sir:

Recently my 17 year old daughter who is a senior in the local high school received a letter from the, "American Friends Service Committee," 431 So. Dearborn Chicago Ill. I seem to recall reading somewhere that this organization has been with backing. Please direct me if it is not on your list of subversive organizations.

Respectfully,

RC 11-4-63  
ack 11-5-63  
me 39w/me

CORRESPONDENCE



November 5, 1963

REC-42 100-11392-351

EX-103

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of October 31, 1963, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, this Bureau does not publish a list of subversive organizations inasmuch as our files are confidential and available for official use only consistent with regulations of the Department of Justice. For this reason I cannot make any comment regarding the American Friends Service Committee, and I hope you will not think either that we do or do not have data relating to it in our files.

I am enclosing a list of organizations cited as subversive by the Department of Justice pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



Enclosure  
List of Subversive Organizations

SAW:ple  
(3) REC-42

See NO. next page  
66-444-22010

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED]

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is frequently subject of citizens' inquiries.

(100) [REDACTED]

Date: November 4, 1963  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: FOREIGN ECONOMIC MATTERS - CUBA

My letter to you of October 25, 1963, captioned "Communist Party, USA, International Relations, Internal Security - C," contained information that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) planned to test the trade embargo by attempting to transport food and medicine to Cuba.

On October 30, 1963, "The New York Times" newspaper contained an article entitled "Four Quakers to Give Cuba Help." The article reported that Cuba had accepted assistance from the AFSC after rejecting offers from the American Red Cross and other welfare agencies; that four United States citizens, all of them Quakers, would be flown from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 1, 1963, to Cuba in order to distribute \$35,001 worth of relief supplies to Cuban victims of the recent hurricane; and that the United States State Department and the Commerce and Treasury Departments approved the necessary licenses and passport validations for the four Quakers to make the trip. The article identified the four Quakers as John Page Hoover, a retired State Department official who once was Consul General in Havana, Cuba; Dr. George Perera, Associate Dean of Columbia University's School of Medicine; Professor Hiram Bilty of Guilford College in North Carolina; and Frank Hunt, who has administered Quaker aid in the Middle East and North Africa. 100-11392-

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

NOTE:

See Philadelphia teletype 10/29/63 captioned  
"American Friends Service Committee" which relates to  
the information set forth in this letter concerning  
AFSC's intention to fly supplies into Cuba.

INFORMANT ADVISED AFSC HAS BEEN VERY CAREFUL NOT TO ALLY  
ORGANIZATION IN ANY WAY WITH ANY POLITICAL GROUP. LHM-FOLLOWS.  
END AND ACK IN ORD PLS

*Letter head*  
*mem.*

WA FOR RELAY 6-07 PM OK FBI WA WS R RELAY

BA 6-08 PM OK FBI BA DMR

TU DISCT

CC-MR. SULLIVAN

*6/13/73*

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FBI REC'D DIRECTOR

07131 8 03 01 33 1 30 11/73  
FBI REC'D DIRECTOR



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

NOV 26 1963

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
(AFSC)

[REDACTED], a folder captioned "High School Conference, October 11-13, 1963" and sub-captioned "Man the most dangerous animal: An Exploration of the Causes of War," issued by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This folder stated that application should be made to MIKE YARROW at the Friends Peace Committee and that the conference would be held at Camp Roosevelt, New Jersey.

The "Attractions" for the conference were set out as follows:

"SPEAKERS AND FILM

"Dean of the Conference" RAYMOND ARVIO, ex-con, ex-college secretary for the American Friends Service Committee, is now an executive for the National Council of Churches.

"Keynoter"

RICHARD HILER, an ex-marine who has devoted his post-service years to opening channels of communication in a divided world, will explore with us

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5 AUG 23 1973

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

"the importance of our inquiry into the causes of war. DICK's wealth of experience includes: community development work in the Ivory Coast; leading American Friends Service Committee seminars in Washington and at the United Nations; and leading summer travel seminars for high school students in Eastern Europe, where they have a chance to meet 'The Enemy' face to face.

"The Marxist View

'Du Und Manche Kameraden', an East German documentary using actual newsreel from the two world wars, gives an excellent marxian interpretation of the causes of war.

"Critique of the film

An expert on Germany history.

"A Multi-Causal Explanation of War

PAUL WEHR, an instructor and doctoral student in Sociology and International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania, also spent a year in Algeria working for refugees with the American Friends Service Committee.

"WORKSHOPS

"1. Politicking for Peace

PETER IRONS, the campaign manager for HALEY BLISS, the peace candidate in New Hampshire, is presently working on the legislative newsletter of the U.A.W. (U)

"2. Civil Disobedience

RICHARD ZINK was one of the most successful submarine sitters at the Polaris Action in New London, Connecticut. DICK fasted in jail as a part of this action.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

"3. Demonstrations

GEORGE LAMFY is now executive secretary of the Friends Peace Committee. He has been very active in demonstrations in the Philadelphia area. GEORGE wrote his Masters dissertation in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania on non-violence.

"4. Educating for Peace

RICHARD HILER worked extensively on this problem as high school secretary for the American Friends Service Committee."



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, "The Evening Star," on page A-1 of the April 28, 1961, issue contained an article entitled "'Pacifist' Groups Backing Castro to Ficket CIA." The article dated April 28, 1961, at New York set forth that leaders of the FPCC announced plans the previous night for a two-week "vigil and hunger strike" starting Sunday to be held in front of the Headquarters of the CIA, Washington, D.C.

The article also states that RICHARD GIBSON, Publisher of the New York Chapter of the Committee and Acting National Secretary, stated that the demonstration was to be staged in conjunction with several other "Pacifist" groups. The article noted that all of these groups planned to form their "ad hoc" committee called the "Nonviolent Committee

[REDACTED]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

for Cuban Independence," according to Mr. GIBSON.

A characterization of the AFSC appears in the Appendix section attached.

The Tass News Agency is the official Soviet Government newsgathering organization with headquarters in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and branches throughout the world.

Characterizations of the National Guardian and the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian appear in the Appendix section attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On October 9, 1963, the following letter from ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~, was received at the Philadelphia Office of the FBI:

"10/7/63

"Sir:

"This past weekend, Oct. 4-5, I attended a High School Conference for Exchange Students sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) at Schwenksville, Pa. I ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ and ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ from ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ were present.

"Two important speakers at the conference were MIKE YARROW, Director of International Affairs, AFSC and DAVE RITCHIE, Phila. Weekend Workcamps Director. I believe that they used an un-American approach (in addressing foreign students) by saying that Americans were 'non-conformists' and that Negroes were being forcibly subjugated in the South and cleared away in downtown Philadelphia to make room for whites. Mr. YARROW gave a quotation from K. MARX as deserving consideration '--- to each his need ---' etc.

"I only hope that these foreign students realize that these are ideas of the AFS Committee and not of all of us, and that they also get to know the better side of the U. S. A."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

(1)

APPENDIX

Characterization of Organizations

PART I. THE FAIR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960 edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. However, during the past year this source observed there has been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of the CP and other organizations in the FPCC so that today their influence is negligible.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that the National Headquarters of the FPCC is located in Room 329 at 799 Broadway, New York City. According to this source, the position of National Office Director was created in the Fall of 1962 and was filled by Vincent "Ted" Lee, who now formulates FPCC policy.

The CP and the SWP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(1)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961 by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, documents the publication "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12)

(1)

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN  
aka Guardian Associates

On May 31, 1960, a source advised that the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian was organized in the spring of 1959 through a Planning Committee of approximately ten members.

Another source advised on September 27, 1960, May 24, 1962 and May 22, 1963, that the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian was not activated by the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), but is made up of former CP members now known as the "right wing." The CP does not direct or control the organization, but the former CP members do follow the CP line in their thinking. The organization's aim is to promote the "National Guardian" and its policies; however, it is not a membership organization.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, documents the organization "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a progressive weekly. Although it denies having any affiliation with the CP, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGs and MORTON SOBELL", August 25, 1956, p.12)

SAC, Philadelphia (100-4899)

12/11/63

Director, FBI (100-11392) - 3 16

REC-125  
AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to your pending letter with enclosed letterhead memorandum both dated 11/26/63.

Based on information in referenced communications and from a review of Bureau files, there does not appear to be any reason for maintaining captioned matter in a pending status. You are instructed to place this case in a closed status or to advise the Bureau the basis for maintaining this case in a pending status. However, you should continue to remain alert for any information of captioned organization which would be pertinent to the Bureau and furnish same to the Bureau promptly.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-4833

~~REDACTED~~  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
December 30, 1963

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
SENDS RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CTBA  
NOVEMBER 1, 1963

PH T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on May 7, 1962, advised that as of that time GUS HALL was General Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

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**AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP SERVICE COMMITTEE  
SEEDS RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CUBA  
NOVEMBER 1, 1963**

The files of the Philadelphia Office contain no reference to the "American Friendship Organization" nor is there a listing for this organization in the Philadelphia Telephone Directory.

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on October 25, 1963, advised that to informant's knowledge there is no "American Friendship Organization" in existence in the Philadelphia area; however, added that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), with offices at 160 North 15th Street has a worldwide program of disaster relief and food and clothing distribution for stricken areas and needy people throughout the world. [REDACTED] on October 25, 1963, advised that the AFSC is very careful not to ally itself in any way with any political organization, which may tend to dominate it.

The Cuban Government has granted the AFSC permission to land a charter plane in Havana bearing drugs and food for the victims of Hurricane Flora. At the same time the AFSC is making a cash gift to hurricane victims in Haiti. On the plane will be four American Quakers, who will work with Cuban officials in planning the distribution of relief supplies. Permission to

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
SENDS RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CUBA  
NOVEMBER 1, 1963

land both the plane and the personnel was granted the previous Thursday after COLIN BELL, Executive Secretary, AFSC, cabled Premier FIDEL CASTRO stating the organization's desire to go to the aid of the hurricane victims solely for humanitarian reasons. Since that time the AFSC has been busy making final arrangements with the U. S. State, Commerce, and Treasury Departments for the necessary licenses and passport validations. A Pan American Airways DC 6A will leave Philadelphia Friday (11/1/63) carrying 23,000 pounds of supplies and the four AFSC representatives.

~~MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION~~  
Included in this shipment are antibiotics, blood transfusion equipment, plus a quantity of food.

The four Quakers, who were to go to Cuba, were FRANK HUNT, Moylan, Pa., AFSC expert on relief efforts; HIRAM HILTY, Professor of Spanish at Guilford College, N.C.; Dr. GEORGE PERERA, Assistant Dean, Columbia University School of Medicine, New York City; and HERBERT PAGE HOOVER, Washington, D.C., retired State Department official, who once was Consul General in Havana.

HOOVER, PERERA and HILTY speak Spanish fluently.

"The Evening Bulletin," four star edition, issue of October 30, 1963, page 18, columns 1 and 2, carried an article captioned, "Cuba Accepts Quaker Offer of Help for Storm Victims," which carries substantially the same information as received by PH T-6 above. The above article carried a United Nations, N.Y., dateline of October 30.

**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
SENDS RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CUBA  
NOVEMBER 1, 1963**

[REDACTED] on December 4, 1963, furnished the November issue of the "N.A.R. News," issued by the Middle Atlantic Region American Friends Service Committee, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., which reflected that the AFSC had sent a charter plane to Cuba with relief supplies for the victims of Hurricane Flora.

The article quoted COLIN BELL, Executive Secretary AFSC, as follows:

"..... It is in the spirit of the brotherhood of all men as children of God that we desire to give aid to our neighbors in Cuba. We hope that additional material, relief planes, ours as well as others, will follow successfully upon this first planeload of supplies.

"..... We are grateful that political conditions have not prevented this opportunity for concerned United States citizens to express their compassion to fellow men who are suffering."

The files of the Philadelphia Office contain no identifiable information of a derogatory nature concerning [REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 [REDACTED]

Legat, Tokyo (105-2902)

3-30-64

Director, FBI (100-11332)

**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, TOKYO**  
IS - CH

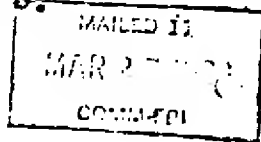
Reurlet 3-4-64.

American Friends Service Committee is a group of Quaker pacifists which is not under investigation by the Bureau.

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NOTE:

Characterization of American Friends Service Committee was furnished by SA [REDACTED], Internal Security Section, Division 5.



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MAR 31 1964

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*FBI*

VISIT OF SOVIETS INVITED  
BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
NONVIOLENT ACTION, 1964

The "Gazette and Daily," a daily newspaper published in York, Pa., contained an article in the edition of January 22, 1964, captioned, "Russian Peace Envoys Coming." This article set out that two members of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation now on tour in this country would participate in a panel discussion on Friday night (January 24, 1964) at the Historical Society of York County. The article continued VADIM SOBKO, a novelist and World War II veteran, and IGOR MIKHAILOV, a Moscow University graduate and a trade union official, would appear with SCOTT HERRICK who led the CNVA Peace Walk from San Francisco to Moscow two years ago.

The article stated the tour by the Russians, who had received their visas that week after an initial refusal by the State Department, is being jointly sponsored by the CNVA and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The article concluded the meeting in York was being arranged by York Action for Peace (YAP).

VISIT OF SOVIET DELEGATION  
BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
NON-VIOLENCE ACTION, 1964

On January 24, 1964, [redacted] of Philadelphia, advised the FBI that a group of Russians were being received that date by the City of Philadelphia. [redacted] advised the Russians were due to arrive at 12 Noon that date and stay with private families in the area. [redacted] stated the arrangements were set up by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO). [redacted] stated the following date various tours and other things were scheduled and that in the afternoon they were to tour the redevelopment area of Philadelphia and then leave for Washington, D.C., and New York. [redacted] stated that arrangements for the above events were made through [redacted].

An article in the "Gazette and Daily," York, Pa., mentioned above, edition of January 24, 1964, captioned, "Officials To Welcome Soviet Peace Delegates Here Today," set out that the heads of both the City Council and the County Commissioners that night would officially welcome to York two members of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation at the Historical Society of York County. The article stated that VADIM SOBKO and IGOR MIKHAILOV, referred to above, were among the seven delegates from the Soviet Peace Committee who began a tour of this country the previous Wednesday. The article noted CARL BURNER, a resident of York and an international representative of the International Association of Machinists and a Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Council, AFL-CIO, was to participate in the panel. It was further noted that SCOTT HERRICK of the CNVA would appear with the Soviet Peace delegates and the chairman of the panel would be BRUCE F. MARTIN, JR., President of IAF.

An article in the January 25, 1964, edition of the "Gazette and Daily," York, Pa., referred to above, captioned, "Direct Contacts Seen Ending Risk of War," noted that Russian and American speakers agree on urgent need for mankind to choose the road to peace and to end arms races. The article stated that nuclear destruction was said to be inevitable under present conditions.

VISIT OF SOVIET DELEGATION  
BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
NONVIOLENT ACTION, 1964

The article noted that more person-to-person contacts by the citizens of the United States and the Soviet Union were called for by the speakers in an attempt to seek solutions to end the risk of nuclear war. The article noted four panelists also stressed the need for the peoples of the world to make a choice between nuclear destruction and the end of the arms race. It was set out that there was a capacity audience of 150 at the Historical Society of York County. This article stated the panel discussion was sponsored by YAF, AFSC of Philadelphia, and the Harrisburg Chapter of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (ANAS).

VADIM SOEKO, above, stated, "All people in the world need and require to live in a world of peace. We came here to say that the Soviet people hate war. I have my personal grounds for hating war." The article noted he lost his left leg in the battle of Berlin. SOEKO continued, "If you will find out a little more about us, our visit will have been good. I know that we will now be able to take back our impressions of you."

A questioner asked SOEKO whether or not members of peace committees had a right to fight back an invader such as when the Nazi Army invaded Russia in World War II. SOEKO replied through his interpreter, "The question is no longer a matter of resisting an armed invader, but a question of not allowing war to start." SOEKO noted that it is very important for Americans and Soviets to learn more about each other and recalled there are 12 million more women than men in Russia, behind which stand 20 million tragedies in World War II.

IGOR MIKHAILOV, according to the article, stated in his talk, "Face to face is the best way to compare opinions." He noted that nuclear war is a very serious reality that would mean the destruction of both our countries. He stated, "Each of us, we hope, will be able to pass our civilization on to future generations. This is why we need to seek solutions on behalf of the common people to avoid a war in spite of the differences between our ways of living." He noted the Soviet

[REDACTED]

VISIT OF SOVIETS INVITED  
BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
NONVIOLENT ACTION, 1964

Peace Committee, of which the visitors are members, is dedicated to working with all peace-loving people to find solutions to our mutual problems. He concluded that, "We need to find how we can work jointly to insure world peace."

CARL BORTNER, "a representative of the International Association of Machinists and a vice president of the Pennsylvania Council of the AFL-CIO," and SCOTT HERRICK of the CNVA, spoke on peace and peaceful solutions to world tensions, according to the article. HERRICK noted in his speech that invitations had been extended to the Soviet Peace Committee in 1961 when 29 persons, including himself, who had marched from San Francisco to Moscow arrived in the capital city of the USSR. He noted they were allowed to speak freely even though the governments of the United States and the USSR did not agree with the position taken by the peace walkers. HERRICK noted that six members of the Soviet Committee arrived in New York as guests of CNVA after the U.S. Department of State had originally refused to grant the delegation entry visas. HERRICK noted that armed violence is not a proper tool to bring about peace and that an arms race is simply impractical. SOENKO, in answer to questions, noted that anti-Semitism and persecution of nationality groups is prohibited by law in Russia. He said the Jewish religion stands on the same level as the Russian Orthodox Church and anti-Jewish activity is prohibited by law.

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 3, 1964, that the visiting Soviet Peace Committee members were served lunch at Philadelphia at noon on January 24, 1964, by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). [REDACTED] noted that only six Russians had arrived in the United States as KWATINA SHEVELEVA was ill and could not make the trip. [REDACTED] noted OLEG BYKOV, who spoke English fluently, was the group leader and that all the others, except one, spoke English to some extent, several being fluent. [REDACTED] noted that various local persons affiliated with peace



**SECRET**

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-8-

LIST OF SPONSORS INVITED BY  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
NONVIOLENT ACTION, 1964

The throw-away concluded that national sponsorship was by CNVA, of New York City, and that local sponsors included MARION DOCKMANN, ROBIN HARPER, ROBERT HORTON, AARON NELSON, and PAUL RHOADS.

(1)

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS (AAScW)

A source provided on December 15, 1964, a typewritten sheet entitled "What is the American Association of Scientific Workers?"

This paper stated, "The AAScW was organized in 1938 in order to help natural and social scientists and technical people to think and work together, creating a closer and more productive bond between the scientists and the community. It is an affiliate member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

"The main emphasis of the AAScW is directed toward the constructive utilization of science and the intellectual freedom of scientists . . .

"The AAScW joins with other scientists all over the world in encouraging the use of science for the benefit of mankind and in combating the perversion of science for war. Through its membership in the World Federation of Scientific Workers, an accredited observer to UNESCO, the AAScW acts to implement the program of international scientific cooperation."

On May 20, 1960, May 18, 1961, May 4, 1962, and May 17, 1963, this source stated the Philadelphia Chapter of the AAScW was founded about 1948; the Philadelphia Chapter has been relatively inactive since 1958. The Philadelphia Chairman is ERIC WINSTON and ROBERT RUTMAN, a member of the Philadelphia Executive Committee, is also the National Secretary of the AAScW.

The source stated the aims of the AAScW have not changed from those enumerated above. He said the AAScW is closer to the World Federation of Scientific Workers than it is to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Philadelphia Chapter of the AAScW is almost autonomous.

(2)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives December 1, 1961, states relative to the World Federation of Scientific Workers: "Cited as 'another international Communist-front organization' which seeks to win scientists to the Communist cause."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378  
on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951,  
originally released April 1, 1951, page 83)

(1)

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, documents the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as follows:

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate  
Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans,  
S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91)

A source advised December 21, 1957 and January 6, 1958, that LEONARD BOUDIN, constitutional lawyer and legal counsel for Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, made a speech December 20, 1957, accepting the Philadelphia Association as a group to work with the national organization. This occurred at a Bill of Rights Day celebration sponsored by the Philadelphia Association, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia.

A second source advised on May 23, 1962, that the Philadelphia Association have not been active in the past two years, have no current active membership and do not maintain a headquarters in Philadelphia.

(1)

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE (ICC)

A source advised the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was initiated and formed by the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), in October 1962, to build a left-center organization which would be able to initiate political activity. As of May 22, 1963, the policies of the ICC were dominated by the CPEPD through Communist Party members who were officers and members of the ICC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE (ISL)  
Formerly Workers Party (WP)

The May 4, 1942 issue of "Labor Action", then an official publication of the Workers Party (WP), carried an article which reflected that the WP was formed in April, 1940, as a result of a split within the leadership of the Socialist Party (SWP). The article stated that when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and Poland invaded, the minority group within the SWP, in proclaiming the formation of the WP, condemned the pact as being imperialistic in nature and stated it would support neither imperialist camp.

The April 25, 1949 issue of "Labor Action" contained an account of the Fifth National Convention of the WP, held March 24-27, 1949, in New York City, reflected the change of name of the organization from the WP to the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in order to emphasize the character of the group as a propaganda group for the spreading of socialist ideas and not as a full-fledged political party.

The July 14, 1958 issue of "Labor Action", an official publication of the ISL, contained an article captioned "The ISL Program in Brief." The article indicated: "The ISL stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism. The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism and there can be no socialism without democracy."

The September 22, 1958 issue of "Labor Action" contained an undated statement signed by the Political Committee of the ISL which indicated that the ISL had been dissolved. The statement urged former ISL members to join the Socialist Social Democratic Federation.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(1)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961 by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, documents the publication "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12)



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PERMANENT STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR  
TRAVEL TO CUBA. Formerly Known as  
The Ad Hoc Student Committee for  
Travel to Cuba

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"The Columbia Owl," a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 13, 1962, issue, page 1, contained an article entitled "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962, by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana as guests of the Federation. The committee accepted the offer and applied to the United States State Department for passport validation which was refused; however, over 50 students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962, that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the "Progressive Labor" group.

"Progressive Labor," Volume 11, Number 1, issue of January, 1963, page 11, in an article captioned "State Dept. Pulls Strings to Keep U.S. Students from Cuba" states that "For more information on the Cuban Trip Contact the Ad Hoc Committee for Travel to Cuba, 42 St. Marks Place, New York 3, NY."

A second source advised on April 24, 1963, that a party sponsored by the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was held on April 20, 1963, in New York City. At this party it was announced that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba is now known as the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

The same source further advised that at this party it was announced that the committee had received a cable from the Federation of University Students in Havana inviting the students to spend the month of July, 1963, in Cuba, and a new trip was planned whereby the students would leave New York City the last weekend of June 1963, for Canada and travel by plane from Canada to Cuba.

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN  
aka Guardian Associates

On May 31, 1960, a source advised that the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian was organized in the spring of 1959 through a Planning Committee of approximately ten members.

Another source advised on September 27, 1960, May 24, 1962 and May 22, 1963, that the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian was not activated by the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), but is made up of former CP members now known as the "right wing." The CP does not direct or control the organization, but the former CP members do follow the CP line in their thinking. The organization's aim is to promote the "National Guardian" and its policies; however, it is not a membership organization.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, documents the organization "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a progressive weekly. Although it denies having any affiliation with the CP, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL", August 25, 1956, p.12)

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

A source advised on October 22, 1958 that earlier in October, 1958, a Philadelphia Committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF), was formed with SUSAN FREEMAN chosen to serve as Secretary and the only officer of the Philadelphia group.

A second source reported on October 13, 1961, and May 4, 1962, that the SCEF does not have an organized chapter in Philadelphia, Pa., and it does not maintain an office. It does not maintain a bank account. This source identified LOUISE GILBERT as the Secretary of the Philadelphia Friends of the SCEF. She is assisted by SUSAN FREEMAN. There has been no activity in Philadelphia, Pa., on the part of the Philadelphia Friends, SCEF, since the spring of 1961. The residence of LOUISE GILBERT, 244 South 21st Street, Philadelphia, Pa., is used for correspondence purposes by Philadelphia Friends, SCEF.

The Communist Party, USA, its affiliates and subdivisions, have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(1)

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon Morton Sobell,' the Rosenbergs' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a communist front which has been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case' ...."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 16, 1963, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

MEMORANDUM  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-11392)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-4899)(C)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
IS - C

DATE: APR 6 1964

*7H*  
[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to SA [REDACTED] a copy of the 2/64 issue of M.A.R. News issued by the Middle Atlantic Region, American Friends Service Committee, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This issue has an article captioned "Syracuse Institute on March 20-22," which states as follows:

*W.D.*  
*Re: [unclear]*  
*Excluded Soviet [unclear]*  
*T. [unclear]*

"'Can The Cold War Be Ended?' This is the theme for the 24th annual Syracuse Institute of International Relations on March 20-22, at the Yates Hotel."

"As in the past, it will be held in cooperation with the Syracuse Peace Council."

"Three speakers are presently arranged for. One is DAVID MC REYNOLDS, Field Secretary for the War Resisters League and Associate Editor of Liberation Magazine. MC REYNOLDS is a popular speaker with college and youth groups, but also knows the peace movement well; he is an effective spokesman for a nonviolent approach to international issues."

*P. [unclear]*

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*15- [unclear]*  
*15- [unclear]*

PH 100-4899

"Another is DMITRI D. MURAVYEV, First Secretary for the Embassy of the USSR in Washington, D. C. MURAVYEV is a specialist in cultural affairs.

"A third speaker is REZA ARASTEH, of George Washington University. He is a former Iranian who has taught and lectured at several American universities as well as the University of Teheran. ARASTEH is an author, and specialist in conflict resolution.

"NORMAN J. WHITNEY, consultant on peace education programs and well-known figure at these institutes, will again be Dean.

"Negotiations are under way to secure a U. S. government spokesman, and a leading member of the Canadian peace movement.

"A special program is being arranged for college students: three peace films will be shown. Mark the dates now."

Albany should furnish the Bureau and Philadelphia with a characterization of the Syracuse Peace Council.

The above is for information and no investigation is being conducted by Philadelphia.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/20/64

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]

Enclosed for the Bureau is a reproduction of a document entitled FOR A BETTER AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. It is undated and its author is not identified.

The document was given to SA [REDACTED] of the Columbus, Ohio, Resident Agency, on 4/15/64, by [REDACTED] Columbus, Ohio, who said he is [REDACTED] and who stated the document may be of interest to the FBI.

[REDACTED] claims not to know who published the document nor does he know when it was prepared. He said he suspects it was written by [REDACTED]. It was given to him recently, he said, by [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] said he does not want the document returned.

The document is being forwarded to the Bureau for its perusal in research matters, is not to be returned to Cincinnati, and may be destroyed upon completion of the Bureau's use of same.

## FOR A BETTER AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The group of Friends participating in the discussions leading up to this statement includes seven Presidents or former Presidents of Quaker Colleges, one Friend who was President of a large university for many years, and at least five members or former members of the Board of Directors of the Service Committee. Friends from all sections of our country and from all branches -- Conservative, Five Years Meeting and General Conference -- took part in the letter writing and conversations and in the collecting of the facts hereinafter set forth.

This statement is made reluctantly after careful deliberation and much searching. It is done only after long and persistent efforts as individuals and as groups have failed to achieve results. It is made by Friends who have deeply at heart the desire to promote the Society of Friends as an instrumentality for interpreting, extending and making more effective the Christian message of love and service to God and man.

Some of us have made real sacrifices over a period of years in order to help carry forward the relief activities of the Service Committee. All of us have high appreciation for the quality of work that has been accomplished and the great amount of human misery that has been assuaged. We do not wish to diminish the stream of good will and service flowing from Service Committee activities but on the other hand would like to see it flow more strongly and more certainly in the right direction. We are pro and not anti-American Friends Service Committee. It is because we profoundly believe that both insufficiently informed



persons and persons of ideals alien to those of the Society of Friends are influencing Service Committee policies and activities in the wrong direction, that we have at last brought ourselves to the point of being willing to make this statement. We know it will bring pain to some but it seems to us to be essential if the great usefulness of the Service Committee is not to be irreparably injured. With great reluctance we make known some of the facts in our possession.

### HISTORY

A brief history of the development of this concern is in order. Over a long period of years, many of us as individuals have expressed ourselves in private conversations with various members of the Board of Directors of the Service Committee and with members of its staff. We have written many letters to Board members and staff members and we have discussed the matter with many Friends. We have also expressed our concern in public address, before various groups of Friends. Hundreds of Friends have expressed to us their deep concern about some of the matters hereinafter discussed. We believe that a very large number of our members, surely to a majority, would be greatly disturbed and would not approve, if they had knowledge of many of the things that are being done in the name of the Service Committee by people associated with it in various capacities.

These accumulating concerns finally led to a meeting held at the Great Northern Hotel in New York, November 2, 1956. Present at this meeting and representing these concerned Friends were J. Kennedy Sinclair, Dwight W. Michener, Harry N. Wright, the late C. Marshall Taylor and Howard E. Marshner. Representing the Service Committee were a number of the members of the Board

and members of the Staff. At this meeting, the Friends named presented letters of concern from a substantial number of Friends who could not be present. These included the late David Hinshaw, E. Merrill Root, Charles S. Ball, S. Arthur Watson, Lloyd S. Cressman, William E. Fort, Jr., and William C. Dennis. In addition to these and other written statements, the Friends present expressed themselves freely and a seventeen page typewritten document citing in some detail quotations from Service Committee speakers and statements appearing in literature circulated was read.

Some of the facts presented seemed to come as a surprise to the Board Members and Staff Members of the Service Committee present. They made almost no comment on these facts but seemed to take the view that they were relatively unimportant considering the size and extent of the program of the Service Committee. After inviting us to a meeting to be held later in Philadelphia at which detailed comment would be made, the meeting in New York adjourned.

The later meeting was held at the office of the Service Committee in Philadelphia, May 28, 1957. Present for our group were Dwight W. Michener, the late C. Marshall Taylor, Clifford Haworth, Harry N. Wright, J. Kennedy Sinclair and Howard E. Kershner. Representing the Service Committee were Anna Brinton, Thomas Harvey, Albert Linton, Claude Smith, Horace Stubbs, Lewis Hoskins, Stephen Cary and Hugh Moore.

To our great surprise, no detailed answers were given to the matters presented at the previous meeting. We were told of the history and legal status of the Service Committee, all of which we knew, for many of us have been closely

associated with it from the time of its organization. The facts which we had presented were again played down as of minor importance and no answers or significant comment was forthcoming.

A summary of this meeting was prepared by the Service Committee and forwarded to our group. We were shocked and more deeply concerned to find in it the following sentences referring to the kind of literature circulated by the Service Committee:

"The selection might be expected to cover a wide variety of views but the political emphasis would in all probability continue to be from the center to the liberal, non-communist left.

The main reason for this lies primarily in AFSC interest in and frank support of international activities most often emerging from this segment of the political spectrum."

This statement frankly admits that the Service Committee is concerning itself with left wing political matters. Do Friends want their Service Committee to engage in political activities? And if so, to identify itself with the left "segment of the political spectrum?" For the first time, so far as we know, the Committee now affirms its "interest in and frank support" of the left. We believe it will surprise and shock most Friends who assume that the Committee confines its program to relieving human suffering and to the spreading of love and good will among suffering people.

It has long been known that this left wing type of political propaganda has been common in the international relations Institutes conducted by the Service Committee in various parts of the country. This has been true both of the

literature distributed at these Institutes and in the heavily leftward slant of the speakers that have been engaged by the Service Committee for them. The Committee denies that it has a foreign policy but the nature of some pamphlets issued by the AFSC, the tone and emphasis of some of the Institutes on international relations, the steady presentation of the left wing point of view in politics and economics, both by speakers and in literature, seems to indicate otherwise.

We shall now proceed to some detailed documentation of certain activities of the Service Committee of which we believe most Friends will not approve. The fact is that the Committee's program has become so far-flung and so complex that neither the Board of Directors nor the staff in Philadelphia are able to keep up with all of its activities and to know all the things that are being done in its name. It is our belief that by adopting a strong pacifist attitude, or by attacking American foreign and military policy, many persons, either clearly subversive or of very doubtful political and religious standing, have worked their way into the good graces of the Service Committee. In this manner, they have been able to promote their leftist ideology both through literature and the spoken word. We see no other explanation for the volume of socialist and communist literature the Service Committee has distributed and for the number of socialist and communist speakers it has employed, including Russian Communists who, by the very nature of their positions, are likely to be linked to the Soviet Secret Police or Soviet intelligence.

#### SPEAKERS

Two witnesses have declared that they heard a Service Committee speaker say, to an audience he was addressing in Houston, Texas, 'I am a Communist'.

Another speaker at the same Institute declared that all the wealth in America should be divided equally among our citizens. The meeting was held in the Palmer Memorial Episcopal Church on February 6, 1956 and the witnesses are Mrs. Anne Harrison and Mrs. S. R. Werlein.

Mrs. W. K. Hall reported hearing a Service Committee speaker at an Institute held at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth say, "We are ready to take over and put in a socialist regime."

Alger Hiss was used as a Service Committee speaker after his first trial.

Professor Frederick L. Schuman has been used as a Service Committee speaker. At one time, he campaigned for the Communist Party, calling it the only democratic party in America. On page 585 of his book 'Soviet Politics, at Home and Abroad' (1946) this man wrote, 'Only those observers who are invincibly ignorant, or blinded by irrational fear and hatred, will deny that the Soviet system of business and power has, for all its abuses and crudities, promoted the liberation of men from impoverishment, exploitation, illiteracy and prejudice and served the cause of human dignity and self-respect on an immense scale.'

Professor Schuman was a sponsor of the Chicago Workers' Theater - an affiliate of the International Workers' Dramatic Union of Moscow, and he lectured at the Chicago Workers' School which was the training center for District No. 3 of the Communist Party. He has led students on a study tour in Russia, and has a long list of citations by the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities.

We are told that Professor Schuman's views have changed, but how thorough is the change and is it wise to employ men to speak for the Service Committee who have such long, unsavory records?

William Howard Hinton was a Service Committee speaker at the 13th Annual Institute of International Relations held at the Pennsylvania College for Women in March, 1954. After nearly seven years in China, this man crossed Russia and obtained in Czechoslovakia, under suspicious circumstances, a permit to return to the United States. Later, before the sub-Committee on Internal Security, he refused to testify concerning his representations to the Passport Division when seeking re-entry to our country. He cited the first and fifth Amendments, seeking refuge behind the latter more than once in order to avoid testifying concerning the way in which he obtained his passport to re-enter the United States.

The notes, diaries and correspondence of Mr. Hinton which were in the possession of the United States Customs were read before the Committee. They are described as a day-by-day, family-by-family, village-by-village chronicle of the sovietization of China's farmers. They include schedules, tabulations, interviews and charts to inform communist authorities just who was robbed and how often, who was beaten and how often, who ran away and how often. They were written by one who began as an observer, later joined a 'work group' and learned how to 'purify the party', 'purify' being a Marxist term for 'purge'. His zealotness, his passionate, repeated, fully expressed determination to wipe out all anti-communist thought elevated him finally to the post of 'Upper Cadre'. As Hinton himself makes clear, this means that he occupied a place in the communist command.

The Hinton papers are said to be a compendium of communist doctrine, of communist official propaganda in both English and Chinese. They include nearly 400 photographs, some of them from official propaganda sources.

(The above information concerning Hinton is condensed from information published in the "The Firing Line" Volume 5, No. 15, dated August, 1956, published by the American Legion.)

In a paper headed "Some Excerpts from the Minutes of the Executive Board of the AFSC," dated April 6, 1949, Service Committee Institute speaker, Mordecai Johnson is quoted as saying: "I don't mind being called a Communist! The time will come when being called a Communist will be the highest honor that can be paid to any individual." Other equally damaging quotations appear in this document. We don't know why the paper was issued but we have called it to the attention of the Service Committee and have received no denial of its authenticity.

At an Institute of International Relations organized by the Service Committee and held in the First Christian Church and the Jewish Community Center, Houston, Texas, January 30th and 31st, 1959, one Nicolai Bourov, first Secretary of the U. S. S. R. delegation to U. N., was one of the speakers. One of his remarks follows: "You will have socialism in America. You will change the system yourselves." He stated that in the Soviet Union "complete religious freedom prevails."

A Hungarian refugee arose and denounced the Soviet leaders. A patriotic housewife asked Mr. Bourov, "Do you believe in God?" The Soviet official thundered back, "No!"

If the Service Committee is not infiltrated with left-wing thinking and personnel, why does it employ speakers who are notorious for promoting communism? Surely, the great majority of Friends would not approve of using such men as we have mentioned to proclaim their message to the public.

Why should the Service Committee use speakers who have no religion, not to mention Friendly motivation?

Dr. Morris Mitchell who was a speaker at Avon Institute, organized by the Service Committee a few years ago, took a strong position against capitalism at the Vermont Forum in Burlington, October 3, 1951, and a very defensive or protective attitude toward communism. More recently, writing in FRIENDS JOURNAL, April 14, 1956, Mitchell said: 'For I must say to you that profits are no part of morality and may be the unquestioned essence of error in a sick society and a divided world.'

In our opinion, this shows a complete lack of understanding of the nature and function of profit. Generally speaking, to earn a profit in a free market, one must serve his fellows better than others are serving them. Profit might be said to be a commission on the benefits one has conferred upon his fellows. In a free market, one must serve if he would profit and usually profits arise in proportion to services rendered. For example, a few men made great fortunes from the invention and development of harvesting machinery but how much would bread cost and how much of it would be have if wheat had to be sown, reaped, transported and milled by hand? The profit earned by these few men was probably only a tiny fraction of one per cent of the benefit accruing to the public.

Stewart Morris, a Service Committee speaker at the Institute held at Cornell



University, July 10, 1953, said, "I do not want to live in a world dominated by America anymore than one dominated by Russia. We would not find either one a world worth living in." Of course, Friends don't want a world dominated by our country but if the choice were that or a world dominated by Russia, we believe few Friends would hesitate to choose the former alternative. At this Institute, also, the sale of a book containing the Rosenberg letters was pushed.

Time and space are not available to continue listing quotations. Many other Service Committee speakers are persistent advocates of Marxism or Socialism in varying degrees. Notable left-wing advocates include Carey McWilliams, Owen Lattimore, Jerome Davis, Maynard Kruger, I. F. Stone, Alger Hiss, Nicolai Bourov and Valentine Antonov.

Some of the signers of this paper have been speakers at several Service Committee Institutes and testify to the left-wing thinking and expression that permeated them. The general thought seems to have been to deprecate everything American and defend everything of a socialist or communist nature. This same complaint is made by other speakers and attenders. Serious students, writers, and teachers in the fields of political science and international relations, have appraised AFSC international affairs institutes as 'naive, superficial, slanted and one-sided.' Many people now think of the Religious Society of Friends as a left-wing political, agitation group. Surely, there are plenty of good exponents of peace and critics of international relations who see no tie-up between these concerns and Marxist ideology and do not promote Marxism in its various forms. One can criticize our foreign policy without placing it on a par with, or

even below, the level of the U.S.S.R. Yet, again and again, this is precisely what Committee spokesmen feel called upon to do. In our judgment, such activities are destroying the good name that multitudes of our Quaker ancestors have bequeathed to us. One Service Committee speaker remembers how eagerly a reporter from the communist Daily Worker followed the proceedings of one of the Institutes. There was evidence of much glee at the propaganda being developed by several of the speakers.

Many of the signers of this document believe that the continual extension of the power and functions of government will lead to the authoritarian state. We believe there should be less government, not more, and that following the line proclaimed so widely in Service Committee Institutes will lead to the loss of our liberty, our self-government, our economic prosperity and directly to some form of authoritarian government little better than slavery.

#### LITERATURE

Eugene Lyons, Senior Editor of the Reader's Digest, has never been hostile to Friends. He has written recently one of the best biographies of former President Herbert Hoover. Following the visit of six Quakers to Russia, he wrote a piece for the National Review, September 22, 1956, called 'Six Quakers in Search of Co-existence.' Speaking of the pamphlet published by the Service Committee after this visit, one of his paragraphs reads as follows:

"The pamphlet is as cold-blooded and cynical a document as has come to my attention in many a year, and I am something of a connoisseur of the literature of pro-Soviet apologetics. I searched its 94 pages for a word of compassion for the victims of the brutal totalitarian state; a suspicion of sympathy for the millions steeped (as is evident

in this account of conditions) in wretchedness and subject to routinized injustice; a syllable of sharp criticism of the despots, in vain. '

The good name, prestige and vast reservoir of good will built up by the Society of Friends and by the Service Committee itself in years gone by is a shield and protection to the Service Committee, but it will not always be sufficient to keep for us this preferred status, if we continue to step out of our role as a relief organization into those of political and economic propaganda.

One of the books being promoted by the Service Committee is *U. S. A. Today* by Helen and Scott Nearing. A review of this book appearing in *PEACE NEWS*, August 10, 1956, says, 'The analysis is Marxist in its essentials, and in those essentials is probably right. World War II was merely a let-up for the hard-pressed capitalist economies of the West. The eternal problems of over-production and unemployment are now beginning to reappear, and, by a process which Nearing calls cancerous fascism, spread through the U. S. '

In public debate, Nearing takes the side of the Soviet Union and belittles the United States. He is not an idealist who has made a few missteps. He is one of the most inveterate communist frontiers in the United States. His book opens with this sentence:

'Within two short decades the United States has been transformed from its position as one of the half-a-dozen powers into the world power, seeking to establish economic and military domination over the five continents and the seven seas. '

(Our country was in position to do just that at the close of World War II but we made no move in that direction. We did the opposite. We demobilized

our armies and sunk our munitions in the sea. Soviet aggression continued to swallow one country after another and finally our government felt obliged to re-arm and establish bases in an effort to protect our country and other free countries. Pacifist Friends may not approve of this action but it cannot be said to have been aggression. Rather it was a reaction called forth by continued Soviet expansion.)

The book denounces the United States as a nation controlled by an "oligarchy", a few ruthless capitalists who are bound to be removed for the sake of a better, namely a socialist world. The book identifies our country with the fascist nations of pre-war Germany and Italy and regrets that we have not followed the socialistic paths of Great Britain and France. It echoes the Khrushchev-Bulgaria line that the cancer of capitalist exploitation is now destroying American society.

In their recent trip through the United States, the Nearings inform us that they sold \$5,000 worth of literature, including Lenin's 'Imperialism,' Mao Tse-tung's 'Essay on Contradictions,' Mrs. Endicott's 'Five Stars Over China,' Starobin's 'Eye Witness in Indo-China,' and 'The Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic.' Mrs. Endicott is known as an apologist for the Soviet Union, specializing on the Far East, and Joseph R. Starobin is an old hand on the New York Daily Worker.

Other literature distributed by the Nearings was the National Guardian, whose Editor, Cedric Belfrage, was recently deported to England as a communist; Today, the publication of Anna Louise Strong, formerly Associate Editor of the Moscow Daily News and I. F. Stone's Weekly, published by the former commentator of the now defunct New York Daily Compass, known in its time as "The Uptown Daily Worker."

In 1958, the Nearings wrote another book 'The Brave New World' which is an account of their extensive visit to the Soviet Union and to communist China. It is one long paean of praise for these Marxist countries. The writers declared they felt more at home in China than they did in America. They said of the Red Chinese government that the 'People's government was recognized as incorruptible.' They extolled Marxism-Leninism.

Among others, the Nearings brought the following message from a Russian spokesman to our country:

"When the happy day comes for your country to take the step, the people of America will join the peoples of the Soviet Union and other sister republics in building socialism."

It seems to us most regrettable that with all the good books available on economics and foreign relations that time and money should be spent circulating this socialist-communist propaganda. We believe few Friends would approve it.

It is interesting to note that Scott Nearing's son (who has changed his name to John Scott) spent a number of years living and working in the Soviet Union and married a Russian girl but that he, who has far more first-hand knowledge of the Soviet Union than his father has completely repudiated the Soviet ideology and, though fair and friendly toward the Soviet peoples, is a vigorous critic in speaking and writing against Soviet policy and communism. The son who is the real expert on these issues is not on the AFSC list of speakers. His father who is a naive and doctrinaire apologist for communism is much used by A. F. S. C.

A few years ago the Service Committee sent out a circular advertising a book called 'The Family of Man.' The communist Daily People's World was also very enthusiastic about this book and called it one of the highlights of the year.

The purpose of the book is apparently to show the common humanity of all men. It has a certain artistic value but it seems to place that common humanity on a low physical plane. The book contains little that might be considered spiritually elevating.

There are pictures of men, women and children in all stages of dress and undress and in poses from which one usually turns away in embarrassment when met on the beaches or in the parks. It shows men, women and children of many races in scenes of eating, playing, dancing, smoking, drinking, with sex reactions prominently displayed. On page seven there is a picture of a man and a woman laying on the grass in tight embrace and over the picture appears a few lines of verse by the notorious writer of salacious matter, James Joyce.

This bit of obscenity and invitation to promiscuity is unprintable. We all know that sex is here, that it is an emotion common to all but we also know that it must be disciplined and controlled in order to avoid great harm. This book and the verse noted seem to sanction it in the raw without control or discipline. A photostatic copy of some of these pictures will be sent to mature Friends on request.

Jacques Barzun, Dean of Faculties at Columbia University, has given a devastating indictment of 'The Family of Man' in his current book 'The House of Intellect.' He not only scores this book for vulgarity and pornography; he also points out the cheap and false philosophy which lies behind its editing, with its glorification of the common, the trivial, the mean, and sordid. His condemnation of this book which the AFSC has promoted is not apparently based on the kind of Christian witness and concern Quakers would be expected to express

but simply out of his sense of outrage against this clever undermining of sound social, moral and intellectual values.

One of Dr. Barzun's paragraphs (p. 29) discussing "The Family of Man" is as follows:

"Whatever is formed and constituted (the work seems to say) whatever is adult, whatever exerts power, whatever is characteristically Western, whatever is unique or has a name or embodies the complexity of thought, is of less interest and worth than what is native, common, and sensual; what is weak and confused; what is unhappy, anonymous and elemental."

On page 28 Dr. Barzun declares: "The theme of copulation is frequently repeated, ..."

This last quotation was noted by Dr. Russell Kirk, in sharp criticism of 'The Family of Man' in the National Review August 15, 1959.

When we called this book to the attention of the Service Committee delegation hereinbefore referred to at the November, 1959 meeting in New York, those present seemed greatly surprised and gave us the impression that they did not know of the existence of the book or that it was being distributed by the Service Committee. We gained the impression that it would be discontinued. As late as the spring of 1959, the book was still being distributed, as announced in the AFSC News Letter, New York City Office, March, 1959.

True enough; the State Department is spending the people's money to send the pictures in "The Family of Man" on a world-wide propaganda tour and the book is being diligently promoted by communist publications and by UNESCO but why should this piece of materialistic propaganda be urged upon the American people by the Service Committee, best known of our Quaker organizations? Is

this not another example of how the complex program of the Service Committee, like big government, has become so far-flung that no one really knows all the things that are being done? To us it indicates that the Service Committee should confine its activities to relieving distress and promoting good will -- the field in which it earned its good name and the gratitude of multitudes of people.

Some of the things that have been written and said by those who visited Russia and China under the auspices of the Service Committee are very disturbing. It seems that every effort was made to placate officials of the government in these communist countries while but little attention was given and little was said of the long-suffering and bitterly-oppressed victims of these regimes.

There was very little of speaking truth to power. There was none of the attitude of Nathan when he confronted King David and said to him 'Thou art the man.' There was nothing of the spirit of Elijah as he told Ahab '... thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the Lord. '

Much was said of understanding the attitude of the ruling clique in the communist countries but very little about understanding the plight of the millions who have been brainwashed, forced into slavery, or slaughtered by these same officials. Put yourself in the place of the suffering victims of the tyrants of Moscow and Peking, and think how you would feel if supposedly devoted Christian people came to your country and said nothing on your behalf but spent their time with those who had oppressed and persecuted you. What an opportunity this would have been to have said something that might have encouraged or given a little hope to these long-suffering people. But there was no prophetic rebuke to evil. The victims of oppression must have felt more deserted and discouraged than ever before.



On page four of a Service Committee pamphlet called 'Change Can Be Peaceful' we find these words:

" 'Such a policy would refuse to compromise basic American principles in order to win allies. It would stand openly for ... such essential reforms as land re-distribution, higher wages, etc. '

The Service Committee says a good deal about re-distribution of wealth, including land, that is, other people's land. What competence has the Service Committee to redistribute land and have Friends ever authorized it to give such advice or engage in such activities? If we are not re-distributing our own land, in our own country, are we in position to advise other countries to adopt that policy?

Are higher wages benefiting a few workers always advisable? Are not lower prices benefiting everybody often more important? Is the Service Committee an authority on wages? And, do Friends approve of propagandizing for any wage policy?

In a bulletin issued by the Service Committee, dated March, April, 1954, there is a photograph of a large poster used in Chicago. It says:

'Don't pay rent increases until you see us. '

Underneath the poster is a statement describing property owners as:

'Unscrupulous landlords who are jacking rents out of sight while providing dwellings which did not approach the city standards. '

What does the Service Committee really know about these landlords and whether or not they are "unscrupulous"? Has it been authorized by the Society

of Friends to take a stand in local situations between landlords and tenants, branding some citizens as 'unscrupulous' and undertaking to determine what shall be done with their property? Who made the Service Committee a dispenser of justice or a divider of wealth? Jesus himself refused this role with the advice to beware of covetousness.

Rent control, other forms of government intervention and "featherbedding" are probably the main causes of our distressing housing problem. Such critical comment, at the surface, contributes nothing toward the solution of this vexing problem. We doubt that Friends will approve of the Service Committee's posing as an authority and an arbitrator in this field.

In the eleventh report of the California Senate Investigating Committee on Education, an official of the Pacific Southwest Regional Office of the Service Committee pictures Russia as the aggrieved and injured party in the current world crisis. (News and Views, May, 1959.)

Emil Fuchs, East German Friend and father of convicted atom spy Klaus Fuchs, made an extensive sojourn in our country a few years ago. We do not know that he was used by the Service Committee but we do know that he spoke before numerous groups of Friends and attended Service Committee meetings. He certainly received top recognition in Quaker circles which seems to accord with the leftward drift so evident in Quaker activities. His recent book 'Marxism and Christianity' refers to socialism or Marxism as 'the corollary of the preaching of Jesus about the Kingdom of God.' It declared 'Marxism has also the merit of having proved capitalism to be the root of war.' A digest of the book appearing in the London Friend, April 10, 1953 gives the following quotation:

"But the historical laws discovered by Marx are as inescapable for a Christian as are natural laws. "

The book refers to the Gospel of Christ as having been lost and declares "It was re-discovered the more clearly in the message of Karl Marx." In the same vein we are told 'we must show the power of the spirit of Christ by our understanding of Marxian truth and concern. '

The London publication PEACE NEWS is diligently promoted by the Service Committee. It is not only a pacifist paper but a strong advocate of socialism and frequently of communism. On October 29, 1954, it published a letter written from Russia by William MacLellan, praising Russian Communism to the skies and sharply criticizing our country. MacLellan bitterly denounced the United States as 'world bogey No. 1. ' On August 3, 1956, it highly recommended 'Christians and Communism' by Hewlett Johnson, the famous Red Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. It criticized our State Department for not giving Communist Paul Robeson a passport. It declared on September 12, 1956 'of all the white ministers in Montgomery, Alabama there is only one Christian among them. '

PEACE NEWS of October 18, 1955 charges the United States '... produced the slaughter in Korea and came near to bringing world war. ' Apparently the communist invasion of South Korea had nothing to do with it. This is equivalent to saying that resisting aggression is aggression and that the murderer's victim is the cause of the murder. The fate of millions of Korean Christians whom our country sought to protect seems to be no concern to the editors of PEACE NEWS and to the Service Committee people who so diligently promote its circulation.

Other typical quotes from PEACE NEWS are:

'... it is not so obvious that Knowland-Republican-Capitalism is to be preferred to Malenkovism.'  
September 24, 1954.

'... a great deal more saber rattlings have come from America than have come from Russia.' September 24, 1954.

Among the papers in our possession is a copy of a document circulated by the American Friends Service Committee a few years ago accusing the late John Foster Dulles, big business and the American government of overthrowing a Communist government in Guatemala in 1954. The Communist government receives high praise and the government which succeeded it is said to have been financed by American big business. One statement in the leaflet reads, "Little Guatemala sought to achieve democratic progress for its people, but that conflicted with U. S. big business. By international intrigue, the government was overthrown."

Another paper in this series castigates Syngman Rhee, President of South Korea, declaring 'that his government is among the worst that the world has known.' The leaflet describes life in South Korea as a nightmare and the United States is criticized for defending and assisting South Korea.

Another pamphlet in our collection distributed by the Service Committee condemns our government for giving aid to Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan and gives strong support to the Red Chinese government in Peiping. It states, "the old China was corrupt and wretchedly chaotic and confounded in a cruel and bitter past." But the new Chinese revolution has swept away the past and a people which number nearly a quarter of all the people in the world is now striving by

might and main to rebuild its country and its way of life. '

Do Friends wish to condemn the Christian regimes of Guatemala, of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee and give enthusiastic approval of Communism in these countries? That is what the Service Committee is doing in their name, not only in these pamphlets but in much other literature.

Documentation such as the above could be continued at great length but these must suffice to demonstrate our contention that forces are at work in the Service Committee to pervert and destroy its usefulness as an instrument of Christian service. Much good pacifist material is available and a rich Quaker literature on this and other testimonies of our Society can be used to meet all needs in this field. There is no excuse for continuing the circulation of un-Christian, subversive and highly objectionable matter.

One may well inquire just what is the purpose of the Service Committee in continuing to circulate so much anti-American pro-Communist literature. The cause of American Quakerism is not advanced by pushing books and literature such as we have described nor by speakers who continually rank the United States as equal with or far below Russia. In our opinion, the vast reservoir of goodwill built by devoted Quakers of earlier generations is being exhausted by those who have turned the Religious Society of Friends into a left-wing, agitation group. Have we so far lost faith in the appeal of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that we must turn from it and place our faith in the coercive power of the state? We regard this as an appeal from God to Caesar. Having lost faith in the power of our religion to redeem men, who will in turn change their own institutions, we seem to be appealing to the police power of the state to do what we evidently think re-born men cannot do.

We believe the Service Committee should confine its activities to Christian service, both at home and abroad. That is what made the Committee a powerfully constructive force for unifying Friends throughout our country. Present policies are dividing us. Let us concentrate on proclaiming the Gospel of Christ and carrying on Christian charity in His name. Political matters should be left in the hands of individual Friends and for such action as they may take in their Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly meetings.

### PERSONNEL

During the past 20 years, the tendency to employ more and more non-Friends in Service Committee work has been rapidly growing. Some of the signers of this document have heard an officer of the Service Committee defend socialism in public debate. Others have heard an officer of the Service Committee declare in public that we would never have peace until capitalism was abolished. Some of us have seen maladjusted persons appointed to responsible positions in foreign service and have witnessed moral breakdown of the most objectionable kind by administrators of Service Committee work. In a large organization, lapses of this kind are, of course, inevitable but it points to the importance of more care in the selection of personnel. Many of us think it would be better to do less work and to employ Friends to do it rather than to enlarge activities to the point of making proper care and supervision almost impossible. The large preponderance of funds coming to the Service Committee from non-Quaker sources is probably the reason for the enlargement of activities and for the employment of so many non-Friends.

The Mayor of a large French city once helped two of the signers of this document to locate a suitable building for a colony of children. At his suggestion a luncheon was served to some of the leading citizens when the colony was opened. Food was scarce and those participating furnished what they could. As we assembled, the Mayor made a gracious speech about the work of the Quakers and ended by saying, rather apologetically, that he knew there would be no wine at a Quaker luncheon and for the benefit of the non-Quakers he had brought along a few bottles. He politely inquired if he might serve it. Of course, we consented that it be served to those who wanted it but we were gratified to note that none of the Quakers participated. The time-honored Quaker testimony of abstaining from the use of alcoholic drinks was upheld.

Imagine our chagrin, when a little later, four top Service Committee leaders from the United States made headlines in the papers for participating in the French custom of wine-drinking. There was hilarity about the clinking of Quaker glasses and we felt that our testimony had been compromised.

A non-Quaker from America, serving on our staff, told us later that when she accepted service in the Quaker organization she discontinued smoking and drinking and tried to live by what she thought were Quaker standards. She was much relieved, she told us, to find an American Quaker (not one of the four referred to above) engaging in both practices and assuring her that she might resume them.

One non-Quaker, European member of our organization was an alcoholic and was making a brave and successful effort to overcome the handicap. An American Quaker staff member insisted on offering her wine at mealtimes.

We begged him not to do it but he continued, greatly aggravating the problem of the alcoholic worker.

### COMMUNIST MEETINGS

In the spring of 1959, the Service Committee held an Institute at Dover, New Jersey. A Congregational minister in attendance reported that he heard the name of God mentioned only twice and then by two persons who denied His existence. This atheism was not challenged on the part of the leaders of the conference nor by other conferees. The Institute was concerned with political and economic considerations and the only evidence the minister saw of religious concern was two small sessions for meditation at which only seven persons out of sixty conferees were present. The minister reported that left-wing thinking and discussion dominated the conference.

Shortly after this conference, this same minister received an invitation to attend a meeting at a private home in one of the better residential sections of New York. He was unable to go but a Methodist minister of his acquaintance did attend. The latter reported that few of the small group of about twenty persons present at this meeting were introduced to others. The only speaker was a Communist member of the Russian delegation to the United Nations. He was all smiles and suavity while he denounced the United States, distributed Soviet Russian cartoons showing our country as a bloody butcher interested only in squeezing the last drop of wealth from its own citizens as well as from foreigners and spoke in the most glowing terms of the democracy, social welfare and prosperity existing in the Soviet Union.



The Methodist minister attending this meeting, organized and sponsored by the Service Committee seemingly for the purpose of vilifying the United States and lauding the Communist regime in Soviet Russia states that it had every appearance of a Communist cell meeting. The address of the Russian official occupied the entire time and there was nothing else on the program.

One of the signers of this paper wrote the following editorial published in Christian Economics December 29, 1959:

"COMMUNISM IN CHURCH AGENCIES"

"ON NOVEMBER THE 21st, the Editor attended a meeting in New York City arranged by the American Friends Service Committee in its series 'The Quest for Peace.' One of the round-table groups was addressed by a Russian Communist, assisted by another Russian Communist who had a better command of English. The former read a paper, the central theme of which was that the Soviet government desired only to live in peace with all nations and would never think of interfering in the internal affairs of any other country.

"The participants in the discussion consisted of three or four Friends, one anti-Communist student and a group of pr-Communists or starry-eyed idealists who seemed unable to distinguish between fair words and facts.

"At the appropriate point in the discussion period, the Editor said, 'We have listened to a beautiful ideal but, unfortunately, Soviet action is just the reverse.' Then he referred to being in Spain during the Civil War in the 30's when Russian military men were masterminding one side of that struggle.

"At this remark, a hubbub arose. Most of those present seemed eager to commend Soviet actions and condemn the United States. They all tried to speak

at once, apparently to drown out further comment. When quiet was restored, the Russian Communists stated that they were not in Spain and knew nothing about that situation.

'The Editor then referred to other flagrant interventions in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and elsewhere but the pro-Russian Americans made so much noise that the Soviet Communists had no opportunity to comment even though they had wished to do so. This appeared to be a part of the plan to relieve them from the embarrassment of facing the facts.

'When order was restored, the anti-Communist student asked, 'What about Hungary?' One of the Russian Communists said, 'That again!' and further discussion was drowned out by the claque.

'Later the Editor secured permission of the Chairman to make a short statement, the essence of which was as follows:

'The heart of the matter is lack of confidence. Soviet literature is shot through with statements by your leaders, boasting that you use false promises, misrepresentation and deceit as instruments of policy to deceive your opponents and gain your ends. These have never been repudiated. After the Second World War, the United States called its armies home and dumped its munitions into the sea. We trusted you. We disarmed but you continued your aggression by taking over country after country. Finally, in fear of your continued aggression, my country felt forced to re-arm and to establish bases in an effort to protect itself and other free countries. You Communists call for disarmament; we tried it and you took advantage of us by the subjugation of one country after another.'

'At this point, the claque opened all the stops and produced such confusion that the Soviet Communists were able to avoid comment.' A conferee who seemed eager to defend the Soviet government stated that she did not believe

The Society of Friends has a great tradition of spiritual insight and service to humanity; but the Editor and many others are deeply disturbed at the extent to which anti-American and pro-Soviet propaganda has entered into certain of its activities. This is also true of a great body of American Christians who are equally disturbed at similar activities within many of their social action groups. This one incident of many is pin-pointed in the hope that Christians everywhere will assert themselves and regain control of their many organizations that are promoting the Communist line. "

In the London FRIEND, August 14, 1953, we read of a conference of Friends held in Berlin during the preceding month. Three Friends from the Service Committee were present. Among other things, the writer of the report said of the conference, "They knew that they had much to learn from Communists." There is no indication that the three Friends from the Service Committee disagreed with this statement.

The Service Committee claims to uphold the well-known Quaker principle of striving to reach unity and of not coercing the minority; but it nevertheless proceeds with a policy which it knows is abhorrent to a large body of Friends, and it continually advocates more and more government action which means more and more coercion for larger numbers of our people. Is it not illogical to say that one should not obey the military laws and regulations of one's country but, at the same time, advocate increasing the power of government to regulate and control the lives of our people in civilian relationships? We cannot go on increasing the cost of government and enlarging the power and functions thereof without eventually bringing upon ourselves a totalitarian type of control to which we would have to be subservient if we wished to preserve our lives.

The chief spokesmen of the Service Committee have been urging the recognition of Red China and her admission to U. N. This appears again and again

throughout the literature issued by the Service Committee and it is echoed over and over by its speakers. What would Christians in Korea, China, Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Moluccan Islands think of this policy? They would surely lose all hope that their Christian brethren in America had the slightest interest in them and would consider that we had abandoned them to the wolves. The recognition of Red China would admit to our country hordes of spies under diplomatic immunity in addition to many hundreds already here from Russia and the Iron Curtain countries of Eastern Europe. Vast quantities of subversive literature now flow in from these recognized countries. What advantage would there be to adding more pipelines from communist China?

Regardless of what Friends may think about the recognition of Communist China, is it advisable for the Service Committee to take a strong stand on this or any other divisive, political question. In matters of relief, we are united; but concerning political questions, we hold differing views. Would it not be wise for the Service Committee to avoid all such questions?

The Service Committee has protested against "the periodic check on the services of non-permanent members of the staff" of U. N. which it declared "has caused a great deal of anxiety due to a number of dismissals from the service. But even more disturbing was the investigation being conducted by the members of the United States Senate concerning the loyalty of American members of the United Nations' staff."

This attitude is the more remarkable when it is remembered that in violation of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' ruling that State Department employees should not recommend individuals for employment by U. S., nevertheless, Alger Hiss did recommend some hundreds of individuals for employment by that organization and that out of this list some 49 Americans were hired. In 1953, 32 of them

were still on U. N. payrolls. There would seem to be ample reason for periodic checkups.

Dismissals from U. N. are made only after very careful investigation. Why should the Service Committee be so concerned for these persons who have a long record of association with Communists and communist activities -- people whose loyalty is extremely shaky, if not non-existent -- and why should such people continue to be employed in sensitive U. N. positions?

What connection is there between the administration of relief and sitting in judgment upon the internal workings of U. N.? Do Friends wish to set themselves up as judges in these matters?

#### AS OTHERS SEE US

An Editor of LOOK, who is a concerned Christian and an active church member, concluded his report on the addresses, discussions and literature offered for sale in a Service Committee Institute held at Hotel Onondaga, Syracuse, New York, February 22nd to 24th, 1952 with the following statement:

"The only conclusion I came to is this: That the whole Quaker movement (that is, Institutes and literature) is a large transmission belt for the Party line idea, manipulated constantly by agents of Soviet Russia. It is inconceivable to me that any Quakers can call themselves intelligent and follow this propaganda. They cannot be good Quakers and do it. If they swallow it, they are stupid, and if they are not stupid, then they are completely subversive in my opinion."

We regard this statement as too sweeping but it does show how earnest, intelligent Christians appraise the outgivings at these Service Committee Institutes. An active church member, patriot and former newspaper woman, Mrs. Helena Ratzka, sent a similar, if not more caustic, appraisal of the Service Committee Institute held at Cornell University, July 10th to 19th, 1953.

"The Saturday Evening Post for March 3, 1950 contains an editorial describing certain activities of Communists and their communist front associates. A prominent member of the Service Committee is mentioned in connection

with these activities as having "lunched that day with the Red Leader, Steve Nelson, while planning the schedule for the afternoon session."

We have received many reports similar to the above from Friends and non-Friends who have attended Service Committee Institutes.

### INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS

Because they contain pertinent statements and points of view, not mentioned or sufficiently emphasized hereinbefore, we are adding the papers presented by E. Merrill Root, Dwight W. Michener, J. Kennedy Sinclair and the late C. Marshall Taylor at the meeting with the Service Committee in November, 1956.

#### STATEMENT BY E. MERRILL ROOT

During the last few years I have been increasingly disturbed by the policies and the activities of the American Friends Service Committee. I have come to the conclusion that, if this is the official policy and activity of the Society of Friends, I shall have to dissociate myself from the Society of Friends.

This is not merely a personal conclusion. Friends in the Middle West have come to me to ask what they can do to protest the policies and the activities of the Service Committee. They have said that they deeply deplore these policies and activities, but they can find no way in which their protest is listened to or acted on. Friends at the Syracuse Meeting have written me asking what they can do, and deploring the conferences and the speakers, and wondering if they (birth-right Friends) will not have to dissociate themselves from the Friends. All over the country, I find people who deplore, with amazement, the things the Service Committee condones and does.

#### What are These Things?

The Service Committee has no recognition of the nature of collectivism in general and of Communism in particular. It seems to uphold collectivism as the Christian way, and Communism as a well-meaning attempt to achieve social justice. It does not realize that the Kingdom of God is within us, and cannot be brought about by state machinery and government coercion. It seems to confuse individual love and charity with the processes of the New Caesar of the streamlined sword.

In its conferences and its publications, it substitutes the politics of time for the politics of Eternity. Specifically, again and again, it sponsors propagandists of collectivism, as apostles of peace and justice. In its conferences and publications, it confuses a Christian pacifism with an un-Christian passivism, a true love for the sinner with a false appeasement of the sin. It confuses a desire to remain at peace with the Russian people with an apology for the most terrible slave-state in human history. It seems to uphold collectivism as the only way to social justice, and the Communist state as a genuine agent of social justice.

The Service Committee (I believe) is intellectually wrong and morally culpable in this emphasis. But even if it is intellectually right and morally sound, it has no

right to engage in such activities as the official policy and faith of the Society of Friends. The Society of Friends has never emphasized the outer darkness of this world (as made concrete in states and governments), but the inner light of God in the individual soul. The Service Committee is perverting and betraying the Society of Friends, and is thus usurping a prerogative that it should not and does not have.

Let the Service Committee feed the hungry, bind up the wounds of the afflicted of the earth, and bring love and light to all who are heavy-laden. But let it abstain from all political affiliation, with all human machinery for social panaceas, from all partisanship for socialism or any sort of collectivism. And, above all, let it abstain from all appeasement of slave-states, of concentration camps, of the principalities and powers of the darkness of this world (even when they call themselves "People's Democracies")! Let it not only stop all appeasement of evil, but let it condemn and fearlessly criticize all such horrible evils as social sin.

Unless and until the Friends Service Committee so does, I must criticize and oppose it. And if it represents the avowed and official and central policy and activity of the Society of Friends, I shall have to withdraw from the Society of Friends, because in my humble opinion such policy and activity is allegiance not to Christ but to the Lord of This World whose temptation Jesus scorned.

Unless and until the Service Committee becomes the outspoken critic of regimes that consider truth only the most convenient lie and fraud and force the true agencies of achieving the good life for all, I can only oppose and dissociate myself from the Service Committee. If the Service Committee believes in the right of a concerned minority even (which I believe is a concerned majority), it must immediately cease its present emphasis and activity. I humbly and respectfully ask it to consider this.

#### STATEMENT by DWIGHT W. MICHENER

The time seems appropriate to consider some of the long-run trends in Service Committee activities. Four observations may be made.

##### I. There has been a shift in the type of organization

In its early years, Service Committee organization was informal and fluid. In all cases, the working group was shaped to fit the particular job. The work was done largely on a volunteer basis by the sincere Friend himself, by his own hands. Time was taken off from his regular business, to which he would soon be returning.

Now, the A. F. S. C. is a large organization, with some 200-300 permanent, salaried employees, most of whom have lost contact with their original fields of productive enterprise. For the most part, those who do this service derive a living by so doing. (In this connection, it may be noted that many Quakers are opposed to "hireling ministers;" yet Friends are now using largely "hireling" personnel, many of them non-Friends, to do this work for us.)

Of course, with a large and permanent staff, grist must be found for the organization mill. It seems that there is competition with other agencies

for important social service jobs. It means that there must be an extensive advertising campaign, displaying in bold type the Committee's most popular accomplishments. It means that there must be a solicitation of money from non-Friends, despite the likelihood that those who pay the piper will eventually call the tunes.

2. There has been a shift in the center of emphasis in Service Committee activity.

Originally, the Committee endeavored to do humbly and well a service to those in need, a service which others were neglecting to do. In this service, a better way of living was demonstrated. The process was humble and slow. There were no strings attached. There was no fanfare and no publicity. But actions were eloquent in their portrayal of the Quaker message.

Results were:

1. Quakers were drawn together in their Service Committee work.
2. The approach to world problems was attractive and challenging to the public.

Now, the center of emphasis in A. F. S. C. work is less on demonstrating our faith by service and more on influencing thought on various subjects which the A. F. S. C. management feels should be promoted.

Results are:

1. Quakers are being drawn apart by these activities.
2. Conflicts of views among Quakers are being broadly displayed to the public.
3. Fields of activity and methods have shifted.

The Service Committee now sponsors meetings, conferences, seminars and camps in which leaders appear whose basic philosophies and standards of honesty are widely different from those of the Society of Friends.

It expresses views to the public on technical economic subjects. It gets into politics with policies determined at the head office. It publishes articles (in some cases written by non-Friends) which support its particular views or policy. Also, "findings" of certain conferences, seminars, referred to above, are published. When the content of these publications is criticized, the common reply of Service Committee personnel is that "These are not official statements of A. F. S. C. policy."

4. There has been a shift in the status of the A. F. S. C. relative to the Society of Friends

Originally the A. F. S. C. was a "Committee", working for and furthering the objectives of other Friends' groups. Now it is more of an entity in



itself. It is self-directing. It has a "Head Office." It has a "policy". It assumes a paternalistic role in the Society of Friends in the United States. It finds it easy to speak for the Society of Friends and to overlook the views of the minority groups and individuals within the Society.

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Being one of those who shares some responsibility for the present position of the American Friends Service Committee, it is my feeling that time should be taken carefully to appraise its present activities.

STATEMENT BY J. KENNEDY SINCLAIRE (Abbreviated)

1. A mighty change appears to have taken place in the work of the A.F.S.C. Conceived as a means for expressing the Quaker Conscience, and perhaps the keeper of the public conscience.

I quote from A.F.S.C. Annual Report for 1955:

"While our activities change from time to time; as any one year's report will indicate, a basic and continuous, if not easily articulated philosophy runs through the years of our history since the Committee's founding in 1917."

"It is the faith that men are made for brotherhood and not for strife; for mutual understanding and respect, not for dislike and suspicion; for wholeness, not for division. It is the confidence that personal and collective well-being is dependent only in part upon physical conditions. The issues of life are out of the heart."  
(Page 3)

Let us assume that as we read this superficially we can agree with all it says. However, through these words there appears to be a statement of policy emerging concerning itself mainly with matters of conscience. For example, it is supposed that the employees of A.F.S.C. are better judges than others of causes of strife, misunderstanding, suspicion, dislike? Who is to determine when, where and in what degree personal and collective well-being requires a "policy decision and action? What is "collective well-being?" Does it pertain to pensions, wages, religious beliefs, rents or what?

And further, again from the 1955 Annual Report ---

"The Committee is perhaps above all an organization experimenting in the field of human relations. The field takes in such familiar problems as race tensions, insecurity, intolerance, superiority, ignorance, personal frustrations and even spiritual pride."

"To adjust persons in segregated industries, offices, housing areas; to help schools achieve the democratic, unsegregated life called for by early and re-affirmed American standards; to adapt persons forcibly removed from their homes to fit into life in new communities and to persuade their new neighbors to receive them; to educate sophisticated American youth through experience with the problems of job getting, of backward sanitation and culture, of handicapped persons in institutions; to rehabilitate war victims in Korea; to emancipate the illiterate in Italy; to identify ourselves with the pressured minorities, the dispossessed, the unfortunate in sundry places -- all these are but similar forms of a wider problem." (Page 4)

Does the first sentence in this statement present the policy of the A.F.S.C.? Do the sentences that follow clearly express the action to be taken by the A.F.S.C. to implement its policy? If so, then the A.F.S.C. is surely the keeper of other's consciences, the judge of other's actions.

The Service Committee BULLETIN, May-June 1956, contains a letter signed by Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary, announcing certain proposals for Service Committee work. One of them is:

"... greater emphasis on work with high school-age young people who are increasingly confronted with perplexing problems requiring personal decisions. For many the answer becomes an easy acquiescence in what is becoming normal and traditional -- military service and a career looking toward conventional 'success'."

QUESTION: What high school pupils does A.F.S.C. intend to help come to a decision? Are they members of various creeds and churches or just Quakers? What is meant by the words "conventional success?" Who are we to judge?

The A.F.S.C. BULLETIN, March-April, 1956, states:

"The gradual change in the activities of Quaker workers in Europe from relief distribution to a wide variety of educational undertakings, reflects the challenge today before the A.F.S.C. on the continent -- the challenge to apply the convictions of Friends to the multitudinous problems of international understanding.

QUESTION: What are the convictions of Friends? Are they to be determined by the A.F.S.C. management? Just where will such policy statements lead us?

Supposed that the A.F.S.C. people who select the issues it is to deal with have powers of spiritual perception beyond others? Are these A.F.S.C. people qualified through superior spiritual insight to express themselves for the whole membership of the Society of Friends?

If it is held that the management group of A.F.S.C. has such insight to express themselves for the whole membership of the Society of Friends?

If it is held that the management group of A.F.S.C. has such insight in right and wrong then would it not be more Quakerly for A.F.S.C. to start with our membership and convert them to the view of A.F.S.C.? An attempt to cleanse society before cleansing Quakerdom seems rather unseemly. Does not such procedure establish a precedent for judging the motives and actions of others? Is our membership, with its diverse views, in position to pass judgements upon others? For example, under the title "Ventures Without Guarantees" A.F.S.C. BULLETIN, March-April 1956, there is this statement expressing the cause of the demonstrations in Jordan:

"The rioters were reacting not to our work, but to the United States policy in the Middle East."

Should we, as a religious body and with the convictions we have, define the causes of difficult situations with accusations?

In the booklet "There is No Safety in Armaments" issued by A.F.S.C., one of the four main points A.F.S.C. urges us to work for is:

"the elimination of imperialism and colonialism, and the use of world resources to advance human well-being throughout the world."

Are Quakers leading such exemplary lives as to be able to tell others what to do with their property? What does this statement mean and where does it lead?

In the pamphlet issued by A.F.S.C., "Change Can Be Peaceful," we find the following statement:

" . . . basic American principles in order to win allies would stand openly for the end of imperialism, colonialism and dictatorship, the extension of self-government to all people as rapidly as possible, and such essential reforms as land redistribution and higher wages."

Is the Service Committee competent to recommend land redistribution and to recommend wage scales.

Group policy decisions made by a few, particularly for the purpose of espousing a position of conscience, it seems to me, is repugnant to friends.

A leaflet distributed as a part of the A.F.S.C. "Peace Packet" accuses the American government of overthrowing "nearly ten years of progressive democratic government in Guatemala in 1954 and of setting up a government acceptable to the United States.

One statement in the leaflet reads:

"Little Guatemala is sought to achieve democratic progress for its people, but that conflicted with the U.S. big business. By international intrigue the Government was overthrown."

Another leaflet in a Service Committee "Peace Packet" is a sharp venomous attack on President Syngman Rhee of South Korea. It accuses him of brutality, corruption, inefficiency and claims that "his government is among the worst the world has ever known".

Another leaflet in a Service Committee "Peace Packet" attacks President Eisenhower for widening the war in the Far East. This same leaflet condemns the Chinese Government on Formosa and lauds Communist China.

These leaflets show a common policy of strong approval for the Communist regimes in China, North Korea and Guatemala and strike out viciously against our government, or anyone in it, who has in any way opposed them.

We do not believe that the responsible people in the Service Committee approve of such propaganda but yet it goes on, not only in their name but in the name of whole Society of Friends as well. Although Friends take the position that the rights of conscience are supreme, this position is nullified when A.F.S.C. intentionally, or otherwise, speaks for Friends. The regular procedures, long established in the Religious Society of Friends, do not control the policies of A.F.S.C.

Running through the literature sent out by A.F.S.C. is the oft repeated theme that our country is in the wrong. If our country did not afford freedom to its citizens, A.F.S.C. would not be in existence. Little is said about the great good America does or the attempt our government has usually made to be fair and just in its international dealings.

What is the remedy? A re-examination and re-orientation of the policy and projects of the A.F.S.C. on the basis of:

1. What Monthly Meetings believe it should do
2. How its activities can best be carried on to conform with the basic concept of worthiness and responsibility of the individual member to decide the course of his own conscience
3. How its activities can be channeled into these areas which will appeal as an outlet for personal service by members of the Religious Society of Friends

#### STATEMENT by the late C. MARSHALL TAYLOR

In spite of the fact that we call our Society the Religious Society of Friends, the activities, both direct and indirect, fostered by the Service Committee have diverted our members from the pursuit of religious activities and supplanted them with purely social aims.

The greatest charge that can be placed against the Service Committee is that in the public's eye it is the Society of Friends and can speak for it, and no real attempt seems to be made by the Committee to avoid this ambiguity. By such action, the Committee is guilty of one of the oldest forms of crime: public deception.

One of the favorite methods used by the Committee to do just the opposite is that pursued by the various institutes, held under its auspices

around the country each year.

I have attended only one, that at Avon in '53. The title page of the brochure carries this title: The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs. In the body of the pamphlet, it uses the phrase, "Quaker Approach". In one case it does use the phrase, "Quaker Approaches", implying that there might be more than one.

Norman Thomas was listed to speak about the "Quaker Approach." The closing paragraph reads as follows: "The American Friends Service Committee is a service agency of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). The underlining of the word "is" is my own doing, but, underscored or not, the bold statement stands. Is there any authority for such a statement?

From the beginning, in all relations of life, Friends have recognized that there may be honest difference of opinion on a subject, and we pride ourselves on the fact that our Monthly Meetings are conducted in love and unity, and the discipline provides that every member has a right to speak his mind once.

In a statement of policy BD51 -- from the Board Minutes of 4/6/49, it says that the "Committee undertakes to interpret the spirit of the Christian messages as Friends understand it. This means that both in the nature of the peace education program and the spirit in which it is performed, the effort is made to bear a positive witness for peace and to maintain the vital and historic testimonies of the Religious Society of Friends. (The use of the word "vital" indicates that perhaps some of the testimonies might in the eyes of the Committee be more vital than others.) To this end, it tries to limit its educational activities to those which will directly or indirectly foster the cause of world peace, and in these activities it seeks to utilize speakers and leaders who in words and action manifest that spirit of love and tolerance which is inherent in Friends Philosophy, even though their points of view on subject matter are divergent from those of the Committee."

In a short sentence the decision was made to limit debate, in fact to eliminate debate, and hear only one side of the story. The stock excuse made by the Committee is that people are already informed about the other side, and the responsibility of the Committee is to show the opposite viewpoint, under the assumed authority that they know the opposite viewpoint is correct. They don't go so far as to say that they are divinely guided, but up to a point that inference is made.

In the olden days, whenever a project was discussed which in most cases had already been started and objection was raised, Clarence was blamed, saying, "He gets us into so many situations where we can't back out, but we all wish he hadn't promised our support."

In theory no doubt Clarence is no longer there, but last year's report showed over thirty projects. They don't blame Clarence any more. The staff as long as money is available apparently will take on most anything on the theory that "it is a good cause!"

One of the most disappointing experiences that I know about was the report made that the Service Committee had been invited into a certain situation. To the best of my knowledge, the way they got into it was by "fighting" for the opportunity.

The question of chairmanship is one that has bothered me for a long while. According to the By-laws, if I remember correctly, the term of office is set for five years, but each year that section of the By-laws is set aside. Surely the Society of Friends, if they must have a chairman belonging to the Society, is not so completely bankrupt as to preclude the selection of a new chairman. There is nothing personal in this, only the good order of the Society.

Where do the funds come from? Rather reluctantly some figures seem to be made available. Originally a real sizeable percentage of the contributions was from Friends and friends of Friends. Today, I understand that percentage has shrunk to about 20%.

In the meantime, contributions from foundations have made up the deficit. That's the easiest money available these days. It doesn't make any difference how the money is accumulated. If the money, no matter how accumulated, now rests in a foundation, all is forgiven, and the Service Committee apparently never asks how the original money was accumulated.

Certainly large blocks of money have a way of dictating their utilization. They always have, and directly or indirectly, that policy will no doubt continue to prevail.

Most certainly, the most guarded secrets of the Committee are the names of its contributors, but it does seem to me that we have a right to an accounting, broken down into various categories.

Probably the most controversial situation that involves the Service Committee today is the Fund for the Republic. Interlocking directors of this Fund are both a liability and an asset. Certainly the Society is entitled to know how the Friend who is a director of the Fund feels about the situation. Certainly his presence on the Board indicates his approval of the operations of the Fund, in the absence of any statement to the contrary.

Of course, there is another close connection between the Fund and the Committee personnel that may be more responsible for the close cooperation.

#### Publications

In the past, the Society has taken precautions to see that everything that was said in the name of Friends was done under the authority of a regularly constituted body. But today we not only have no control over what the Service Committee does or says, but much worse, the distribution of other material not written by Friends, not approved by anybody, goes out in the A.F.S.C. envelope, carrying the implication that Friends have approved.

It can be said that so far as I was concerned when a member of the Board that even then it was a major occupation to read everything that the

Committee printed and distributed.

It doesn't seem to be anybody's job to go over what is released in the name of the Committee. Each area office seems to have a free lance opportunity to do anything they please, just as long as they raise the money locally.

### Security Risks

Probably the Service Committee is more interested in Civil Liberties than any other activity at the present time. It seems easier to get money for such activities and it must always be remembered that the Service Committee gets its bread and butter by involving themselves in those activities for which it can raise funds.

Pure research is hard to finance.

In its employment policy the first requirement is that the applicant be in sympathy with the ideals of the Service Committee. What chance has a capitalist-minded person to get a job under these circumstances? What chance is there that someone with new ideas will get a job? In other words, the pattern is definitely set.

Secondly of more significance is the "security" rating which prevails in the selection of applicants.

1. Those jobs for which Friends only are acceptable.
2. Those jobs for which friends of Friends are acceptable.
3. Those jobs for which non-Friends are acceptable.

### Perpetuity

The perpetuity set-up is probably the worst thing about the Service Committee Board. It reports to noone and it takes orders from no one. What right has it to continue to call itself Friends? Just choosing Friends to be Board members is no protection to the Society as a whole. In fact, it is subterfuge of the worst calibre.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

We wonder how Friends feel about having their best known and most heavily financed organization carrying on such socialistic and communist propaganda as hereinbefore cited and what will they do about it?

The Service Committee is a self-perpetuating body. It is a law unto itself, entirely outside the control of our Yearly Meetings. Nevertheless, in the mind of the public, it is the voice of the Society of Friends. Friends

are therefore being judged, not by the activities of their own regularly constituted bodies, but by those of an unofficial group which is not responsible to or controlled by it.

Many of us believe that the Service Committee should be brought under the control of our Yearly Meetings. This could be accomplished if its Board of Directors were appointed by our several Yearly Meetings. This seems to be the only way that Friends can limit and control A.F.S.C. activities.

We believe that the program of the Service Committee should be greatly simplified so that the members of the Board of Directors could follow its activities and the Executive Secretary could be aware of everything that is being done in its name. Projects should be carefully studied and closely supervised. A competent Book Committee should read carefully every book before it is recommended or sold. Another committee on literature should do the same for pamphlets, publications and reports of all kinds.

A third committee should carefully screen all speakers employed by the Service Committee Institutes, or in other capacities, to make sure of their high Christian character, their loyalty, their patriotism and their competence to engage in the activities at hand.

There should be more careful screening of personnel to be sure of character and commitment to Friends' ideals as well as competence for the job.

Another serious feature of this matter is that the Service Committee is mainly financed by non-Quaker money and very largely operated by non-Quaker personnel. This is doubly serious when the Service Committee, with stronger financial backing, goes into the territory of a Yearly Meeting and, in many respects, contradicts and even overrides the program of the Yearly



Meeting. No wonder many Friends feel deeply about this matter.

Many of us think the Committee should not work within the limits of a Yearly Meeting unless it is very careful to make sure that the Yearly Meeting approves of all activities conducted within its area.

Our danger is not that Friends have lost their ideals but that they are not sufficiently alert to prevent their institutions from being used by sly, scheming wolves in sheep's clothing who circulate so freely among us. We need to sharpen our wits, watch carefully, spot them and stop them before they vulgarize and pervert the ideals of Quakerism and of our free Christian civilization.

We question the wisdom of branch offices and would prefer that indigenous Friends carry on such activities under local or Yearly Meeting auspices. If the Service Committee has funds available for such work, they could be used to subsidize these local activities. In any event, branch office activities should be conducted only with the approval of the Yearly Meeting or Meetings in the area. If the Yearly Meetings appointed members to the Board of Directors of A.F.S.C., the members appointed by each Yearly Meeting could supervise Service Committee activities within the limits of the Yearly Meeting in question.

These comments and suggestions are offered humbly in the hope that they may be useful to Friends in thinking through the difficult questions involved. We want to see the Service Committee restored to the place of high esteem it formerly occupied in the minds of Friends and non-Friends. We want to be able to regard the Service Committee with pride and affection and to help make it a strong instrument for promoting the ideals of Friends.

## ADDENDA

Concerning one of the Communist meetings cited hereinbefore, Colin Bell declared in FRIENDS JOURNAL, January 9th, that it represented "the desire of a specially interested group to delve more intensely into a particular problem." One of the ministers to whom an invitation to attend this meeting was sent is not a member of any "specially interested group". He is not lacking in understanding of the Communists. This man received his invitation to the small meeting, at which only the Communist speaker was presented, through the mails -- indicating that invitations were not confined to a small, interested group.

FRIENDS JOURNAL, January 9th, contained a letter of protest from Howard E. Kershner against the practice of the Service Committee in employing Russian Communist speakers for meetings arranged in the New York area. In his reply in the same issue of FRIENDS JOURNAL, Colin W. Bell, Executive Secretary of AFSC, acknowledged that Communist speakers had been employed and, more surprisingly stated: "It is to be expected that occasionally in the future, Russians may be included in AFSC programs when such a course is considered helpful."

Many Friends will be surprised and grieved to learn of the frank intentions of the Service Committee, as expressed by its Executive Secretary, to continue using Russian Communist speakers to propogate communism in our country. The question arises: "Do Friends approve of their much-beloved relief organization becoming an agency for the promotion of communism?" It is our belief that few Friends will approve such action.

A former Friend, who spoke at a number of the Service Committee Institutes about 12 years ago writes: "I had the feeling that I was thrown among the intellectual, moral and social slums of communism and socialism and that I would like to take a bath, get into clean clothes, and get back into the world of decent, intelligent people who accomplish worthwhile purposes."

The same writer continued:

"One of the speakers at a Service Committee meeting arranged in Whittier, California testifies that a young woman stood up and said, 'We Communists have a spiritual affiliation with Quakers'" Communists usually disguise themselves but in at least two American Friends Service Committee meetings at which I spoke, the Communists came out in the open. At one meeting in Whittier, I was the only speaker among six who was not a communist or a socialist. I came back East deeply disturbed and went to Philadelphia to get the facts and make a protest. In the Service Committee office, I was given the brushoff and the things I reported were received with no sympathy at all. At the same time, Alger Hiss was being used as a Service Committee speaker."

APR 25, 1964

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Justice Department  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The enclosed clippings from The Courier-News, Plainfield, N. J. may be cause for anxiety with respect to penetration of communist elements into our community through the American Friends Service Committee.

The Neighborhood House is a community agency located in the Negro district. It is financed by our United Community Fund and operated by a Board and committees comprised of Negroes and white people. This agency fills a real need through its many well-conducted activities. Public-spirited citizens give generously of their time and money helping Neighborhood House.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
While I was on duty Saturday morning, April 25, 1964, this mixed racial group from the American Friends Service Committee was there. It didn't look right to me. We don't need people coming here from New York to help us discharge our community responsibilities. We have excellent welfare and community service agencies.

I have a strong suspicion there is something ulterior about this activity.

Any light you can throw on this situation that will give us the correct understanding of it will be appreciated.

Respectfully,

ENCLOSURE

REC

100-11392

5 MAY 5 1964

# COURIER-NEWS

PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY, MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1966

**OPPORTUNITY'S DOOR** — Two participants in a community service project put the finishing touches to a new paint job on the door of Neighborhood House Saturday. They are Cynthia Stevens of 134 Hubbard Ave., Lanwood, and Anthony Lawrence of 267 Seneca Pl.

They joined about two dozen youths in a "work camp experiment" which included both living and working together at the community center and aiding persons in residences during the weekend. (Photo by Eric Munn)

## Work Camp Benefits Many

Six city families, the Neighborhood House, about two of the community center crews moved out at 9 a.m. to the homes of those aided by supervisors benefited from the activity; work continued a youth "work camp experiment" they needed this kind of ex- until 4 p.m. Both Saturday and Sunday the youths prepared their meals at Neighborhood House where they stayed during the project.

Purpose of the activity was and not having worthwhile things to do. And the adult supervisors benefited too. They were as enthusiastic program of aid to others and about the experience afforded discussion of mutual problems. Fifteen youths from New York joined the local group in the live-together, work-together project.

Six crews and their adult supervisors painted the rooms and hallways in homes of elderly and incapacitated city residents; another crew painted the door of Neighborhood House and joined others with a dinner and get-ac-

Saturday night discussions on youth problems were augmented by explanations provided by dinner guest, Dr. Charles L. Meade, chairman of the Human Relations Commission and pastor of the Crescent Avenue Presbyterian Church. The Rev. George B. Christian, pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church, also was a guest of the youths.

Roy C. Hanson, director of East Harlem Project in New York, was in charge of the young people from that city.

A game period was included in the Saturday activities and the project ended yesterday.

On the planning committee and serving as adult supervisors were: Miss Faison; Mrs. Dorothy Lang and the Rev. Mrs. Joan Higgins, both of the Council of Churches; Thomas Barnett, Mrs. Barbara Irving, Miss Elisabeth Sharp, George M. Potter, George Carter and Luther Roberts.

Future work camp projects, Miss Faison said, would be a topic of discussion at a committee meeting in Neighborhood House on Wednesday, May 6, at 4 p.m.

100-14372-312

ENCLOSURE

# *Thursday, July 27, 1967* *Plainfield, New Jersey* **Youth Experiment** **Benefits Community**

Hands and voices of seven area youths were joined today with those of 15 young people from New York in a program of community service and group discussion of youth's place in the community.

They are participating in a "work camp" experiment Relations Commission and under adult supervision and pastor of Crescent Avenue in the sponsorship of the Plain Presbyterian Church, and the field Area Council of Churches. Rev. George B. Christian, pastor, the American Friends Society, and the Bethel Presbyterian Service Committee and Neighborhood Church. The program Neighborhood House, where they opened last night at Neighborhood House, where they are quartered for the week, Neighborhood House, where a meal and program.

Area youths include: Steven Whetstone, 411 John St.; Zaerah Battle, 116 Lafayette Pl.; Brenda White, 823 S. Second St.; Geraldyn Lee, 428 Spooner Ave.; Robert Miller, 1132 Woodmere Pl.; Antonio J. Lawrence, 267 Seneca Pl.; Cecily Lee Lord, 70 Beech S. Ave., Berkeley Heights, and Cynthia Stephens, 144 Hubbard Ave., Fanwood.

The New Yorkers participating in the program include young people from metropolitan New York, including Westchester County and Long Island.

Activities today include interior painting and other work in the homes of elderly and incapacitated persons here, painting of the Neighborhood House basement and front door, preparation of their own meals and group discussions.

Tonight they will be host to Dr. Charles L. Meade, chairman of Plainfield's Human

Relations Commission and pastor of Crescent Avenue in the sponsorship of the Plain Presbyterian Church, and the field Area Council of Churches. Rev. George B. Christian, pastor, the American Friends Society, and the Bethel Presbyterian Service Committee and Neighborhood Church. The program Neighborhood House, where they opened last night at Neighborhood House, where they are quartered for the week, Neighborhood House, where a meal and program.

100-11392-275

ENCLOSURE

EX 104

PER 47

MAY 4, 1964

[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of April 28th, with enclosures, has been received.

With regard to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the organization about which you asked.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing derogatory concerning correspondent and our last outgoing was dated 4-6-49 when he was informed the Director was unable to comment on the book he mentioned. The American Friends Service Committee has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party Line; however, it has not been investigated by this Bureau. It is a Quaker organization and one of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various Nations and for this reason it has been the subject of citizen inquiries.

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Cooper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

DFC:rcd

MAILED 20  
MAY 4 - 1964

MAY 11 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Quakers Issue 'Direct Action' Manual As Guide to Rights Demonstrators

The Friends Peace Committee here has published a 100-page instruction booklet for civil rights workers called "A Manual for Direct Action."

It tells how to behave on sit-ins in campaigns:

"... you should relax your body as much as possible, for tissues can be damaged and torn when you are lifted or dragged if your muscles are tensed.

It suggests the kind of clothes to wear when going to jail:

"Wear loose clothing in order not to be choked when dragged. Wear decent, tough clothing, but not your best. Wear two sets of underclothes so that you can wear one set while washing the other. This is also helpful padding if you are dragged about by police."

### Boy-Girl Situations

It contains advice for leaders organizing civil rights groups: "Set up a simple bookkeeping system in case your regular bookkeeper is arrested... Relations between persons in the group will always be a problem to some degree. Boy-girl situations develop."

It explains the reason for nonviolence in civil rights movements:

"Violence is what police and armies know how to deal with—they are experienced in this. What baffles them is the use of disciplined nonviolence—they actually do not know what to do with it."

### How to Win Friends

It describes how to win friends for the civil rights cause.

"... Juvenile gangs, if approached in the right way, can be given a new purpose in life and can be valuable allies—but do not expect them to become nonviolent angels overnight."

A spokesman for the peace committee said the booklet was published in mid-June and several hundred copies were mailed to Oxford, Ohio, for the civil rights training sessions sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations.

Co-authors are Martin Oppenheimer, assistant director of the American Friends Service Committee's studies program, and George Lakey, executive secretary of the Friends Peace Committee.

There are biographical sketches of both men in the back of the book.

### Haverford Professor

Oppenheimer, according to the sketch, will be assistant professor of sociology at Haverford College this fall and had practical experience in direct action training with Philadelphia CORE.

Lakey, who wrote a master's thesis on nonviolence, was arrested during the Chester civil rights demonstration in April and spent some time at Broadmeadows Prison.

The booklet begins with a chapter on "The Community."

It suggests the civil rights worker study the political and economic background of the community in which he plans to work, analyze its "power structure," and study its "social inventors."

"Do not neglect looking at the society pages to find out which families 'count' in decision processes..." it states.

### Use of Outsiders

It warns against the use of "outsiders," since opponents can use the outsiders' presence as a weapon against the campaigners.

"Outsiders help segregationists maintain their belief that local Negroes are not ready in the struggle of their own with

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p. 34

The Evening Bulletin  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 7/9/64

Edition:

Author:

Editor: m/e Wm. B. Dickins

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Philadelphia

☐ Being Investigated

100-11312-377  
ENCLOSURE

you can not be so unjust after all," it continues. Furthermore, it points out, no one can "give" anyone else freedom.

Following the Freedom Rides, it is noted that though they were in many ways, Negroes went back to segregated practices in town after town because they have not won the freedom for themselves.

Cartoons by Elsie Baley begin up the pages of the pamphlet. Some show uncombed little characters lying prone, standing on soap boxes, wearing ball-and-chains and carrying picket signs with such messages as "Down With Artichokes."

A chapter on "Workshops in Direct Action," recommends role-playing, or sociodramas, as a means of developing the necessary skills and getting rid of tensions.

#### "Scenarios" Suggested

Several "scenarios" are suggested:

A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike.

Congressman Blank, a Negro with a do-nothing record representing a predominantly Negro district, invites a group of civil rights people to his office to get their ideas.

A white civil rights demonstrator is arrested in a southern civil rights demonstration and sent to a segregated jail.

The booklet contains a diagram for setting up a picket

line. It shows the ideal locations of pickets and captains and the direction of the line of march. Buildings, entrances and sidewalks are indicated.

#### Gas and Dogs

Another diagram shows how to place "sleeper" elements at a civil rights demonstration "to divert an attacking police unit by demonstrating in its rear."

Methods of dealing with tear gas ("it may help you to know that harassing gases cannot cause permanent injury or death to themselves") and dogs ("Some dogs are trained only to hold, not to bite, but don't count on it") also are discussed.

Several paragraphs are devoted to white participants in the civil rights struggle:

"As a white, he is seen as a traitor, which is worse than being a Negro.

"His presence in the struggle serves to undermine the delicate structure of thinking and excuses which most white Southerners have created for themselves to account for segregation and discrimination.

#### Focus of Violence

"Violence, if it erupts, tends therefore to focus on the white picket."

When firehoses are used against demonstrators, the advice is to "hold on in a human chain and you may be able to withstand the pressure and not have to leave."

On picket lines, he orders, don't run, direct all questioners to the captains, and.

"If you are the victim of an attack, and are hurt too severely

disabled, you can still take a violent initiative. For instance, on a calm voice you might say, 'Sir, may I ask you a question?'

The booklet also discusses such direct-action tactics as fraternization, "bumping," leafletting, renouncing honors ("for example, Negro veterans might send back medals of honor"), noncooperation, and boycotts.

#### Sense of Desperation

A final chapter is devoted to a discussion of nonviolence as opposed to armed defense.

"In recent years a sense of desperation has grown in the Negro community," the publication states.

"This desperation is rooted in the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve, and of the white power structure to surrender, enough to satisfy. This has resulted in a significant growth of organizations such as the Muslims (Black Separatism)."

The proponents of armed defense, the booklet says, feel that the Negro can win only with armed conflict.

"If this argument means that the only way 170 million whites will give up their key privileges is for 20 million Negroes to defeat them with arms, there is no hope.

"Obviously, Negroes with 22 rifles and dynamite are not going to defeat tanks, planes and overwhelming numbers."

More important, the booklet states, is the way a man looks at himself.

"The surest way of encouraging evil to spread is to let it engulf your own heart."



FBI

7/17/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-11392)  
ATTN: CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-4899)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
 IS - C

Re Philadelphia airtels dated 7/9 and 7/10/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a publication entitled "The Manual for Direct Action" by MARTIN OPPENHEIMER and GEORGE LAKEY, published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1964. The Civil Rights Section is already in receipt of one copy of this publication and the enclosed copy is being forwarded for the Crime Records Section.

Above copy was furnished by [redacted] to SA [redacted] on 7/16/64. Another copy which was furnished is being maintained in 100-4899-1B.

1 - Bureau (Encl. - 1)(RM)  
 2 - Philadelphia  
 1 - 100-4899  
 1 - 134-33 Sub A (PH 210-S)

EX 110

17 JUL 18 1964

WSB:lac  
 (5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Agent in Charge

70 AUG 6 1964

100-111302

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

INTERNAL SECURITY

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 7/9, 10/64 "American Friends Service Committee, IS - C," your file 100-4593.

Forwarded the Bureau with the latter airtel was a copy of a publication entitled "A Manual For Direct Action" by Martin C. G. and George L. L., published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, in 1964. The publication has brief biographical data concerning the authors and also identifies, by name, others who assisted in its preparation. The back cover contains a statement by Bayard Rustin. The Manual itself is, of course, related to the current civil rights movement.

Because of the apparent subversives involved in the preparation of the Manual, it is desired that your office submit a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination which should report on the publication of the Manual and include a succinct summary of its contents. Appropriately characterize all known individuals connected with its preparation, including any available subversive information concerning the Friends Peace Committee. Also include a characterization of Rustin which, if not available to your office, may be obtained from the New York Office.

The submission should be received at the Bureau within 15 days from date of instant communication.

1 - 100-111302 (American Friends Service Committee)

SFP:lonj

(8)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED

174 JUL 24 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN

July 22, 1964

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We are enclosing a program handed to us by a group of young white people that have come in our Town to work among the colored people. Please give us any information you have concerning American Friends Service Committee. We would like this information as we are well aware of the Communist forces working in our Country today.

Very truly yours,

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

1 Enc.

REC 55

100-11111-391

16 JUL 29 1964

EX 109

ENCLOSURE

ack: 7-28-64  
DRC: jsh

CORRESPONDENCE

## CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

A citizenship education project involving a group of students under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee will be in Orangeburg County from June 20 to August 16. The group will consist of 14 college students from various states including South Carolina. Pickens Moore, a social worker from Boston (originally from Texas) will be the group's leader. He will be accompanied by his wife, Janet, and two children. They all will live in Orangeburg.

The project comes at the invitation of a group of citizens in Orangeburg, and it will act under the direction of the Voter Education Project.

This is a project in citizenship training. It will work through other organizations in setting up a series of workshops, designed to increase knowledge on the part of local citizens about local, state, and national government and to encourage more effective participation in civic affairs. The project members will also participate in various aspects of community life—churches, work projects, recreation, home visiting and meetings of other organizations.

Since the promotion of freedom at home and abroad requires that each citizen exercise his rights fully and fearlessly, religious, social and educational agencies in our society should advise individuals of their rights and responsibilities and protect the free exercise of them. The sponsoring organizations of this project believe that building stronger democracy and Christian brotherhood in our communities is everyone's responsibility.

ENCLOSURE

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Mr. James W. McPherson, Chairman

Mr. Earl Middleton

Dr. Ch. H. Thomas, Jr.

Dr. H. E. Caldwell

Rev. H. O. Harvey

Rev. J. D. Dash

Mrs. C. E. Webber

and others

Regional Office

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

1818 S. Main St.

High Point, North Carolina

Mr. Richard Ramsay,  
College Secretary

July 28, 1964

REC 55

JUL 28 11 15 AM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

[REDACTED]

Your letter of July 23rd, with enclosure, has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I cannot be of assistance in this instance but trust you will understand the necessary reasons for this policy. It is hoped that you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to American Friends Service Committee.

Sincerely yours,

[REDACTED]

J. Edgar Hoover

[REDACTED]

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. American Friends Service Committee has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is has been subject of citizens' inquiries.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

DFC:deh:dlz  
(3)

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

6 AUG 6 1964 TELETYPE UNIT



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

August 6, 1964

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION,"  
PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS  
PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
published in 1964 by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The authors of this manual are MARTIN OPPENHEIMER and GEORGE LAKEY. Biographical data concerning them, as contained in the manual reflected that MARTIN OPPENHEIMER is Assistant Director of the Studies Program, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and will be Assistant Professor of Sociology at Haverford College during the 1964-1965 school year. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Sit-In-Movement and has had practical experience in direct action training with Philadelphia Congress on Racial Equality (CORE).

GEORGE LAKEY is described as Executive Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee and author of a book on nonviolent action. He wrote his Master's Thesis in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania on the subject of nonviolence. He was reportedly arrested during the Chester, Pa., civil rights demonstration in April 1964, and spent some time at Broadmeadows Prison, Delaware County, Pa.

100-11392-  
ENCLOSURE

2165

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[REDACTED]


"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMISSION, PHILADELPHIA,  
PA.

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Characterizations of the Young Socialist League and the  
Philadelphia Branch, Young Socialist League are attached  
hereto.

An article in the Sunday Bulletin, the Sunday edition of a  
Philadelphia daily newspaper, issue of December 15, 1968,  
captioned "Quakers Provide Mainspring of Peace Movement  
Here," contains a subtitle "Peace Committee of Philadelphia  
Yearly Meeting" (Friends Peace Committee). The article  
notes that this committee is set up to aid Greater Phila-  
delphia Quaker Meetings in their individual peace programs.  
The article noted that GEORGE LAFFEY, a conscientious objector,  
is secretary, and states he has participated in local civil  
rights and peace demonstrations.



  
"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA,  
PA.

---

The back cover of the manual contains a statement by  
BAYARD RUSTIN which states in part, "At long last here is a  
much-needed practical training manual for nonviolent direct  
action. ... It should be carefully studied by every activist in  
civil rights and related causes. ... The volume should be read by  
everyone interested in the real meaning of the current civil rights  
struggle."

[REDACTED]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION." PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA,  
PA.

---

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast daily Communist newspaper which suspended publication January 13, 1953.

The inside of the back cover of the manual reflected that the following persons assisted in the preparation of the manual:

Cover and drawings	ELSA BAILEY
Editorial Assistant	ROGER MARSH
Typists	DOLORIS R. BIRD MAURINE PARKER

The files of the Philadelphia Office contain no record of [REDACTED] no information of a derogatory nature concerning [REDACTED]

The Table of Contents of "A Manual of Direct Action" is as follows:

Introduction -----	1
1. The Community-----	4
2. Setting Up an Organization-----	19
3. Citizen Education and Voter Registration--	37
4. The Workshop in Direct Action-----	49
5. Direct Action Tactics-----	61
6. Counter Demonstration Operations-----	78
7. Arrest and the Courts-----	89
8. Jail-----	102
9. Nonviolence and Armed Defense-----	110
Appendices	
A. Bibliographical Essay-----	119
B. First Ten Amendments to U.S. Constitution plus selected criminal and civil statutes-----	124

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[REDACTED]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PEOPLE ORGANIZATION, PHILADELPHIA,

A summary of the contents of the manual is set forth  
below:

#### Introduction

The stated purpose of the manual is to make available the experience of other people in the civil rights movement and to share this knowledge with other people in order to avoid mistakes and failures in the future.

#### The Community

The "power structure" of the community should be analyzed. It must be ascertained which (both white and Negro) people, families, business concerns, ministers and educators have the authority to make decisions which influence the behavior of other individuals or groups.

In preparing a "social inventory" of a community the following questions, among others, must be answered:

Which Negro businesses, churches, politicians, school board members, etc., are really controlled by white people?

Who votes?

Who rides buses?

The manual states that the more Negroes, the more resistance to change, except in large cities... that the "Deep South" is no affair for amateurs.

There is an important reason for nonviolence.. it makes good public relations sense because it limits the chance for finding reasons to be against the movement.

( )

~~REDACTED~~

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS, PHILADELPHIA,  
PA.

---

All groups in a community fall into one of the following classes:

1. Active associates and friends in the cause.
2. Support, including financial, but not active participation.
3. Moral support.
4. Neutral --- organization divided equally.
5. Hostile, but not active.
6. Actively hostile.

The primary job is to find which of the above is "your target group" the secondary task is "to move everybody one step up."

The chief problems are fear and apathy. Apathy may be due to bad planning, poor preparation and/or poor leadership.

Where the Negroes are frightened or apathetic the first logical step may be a voter registration campaign.

Boycotts work better in a situation where there is a numerical superiority of Negroes over whites.

Opponents use the presence of outsiders as an important propaganda weapon against the civil rights campaigners.

The four stages of the civil rights struggle are (a) indifference, (b) active antagonism, (c) disunity, (d) negotiation.

Direct action is more effective when there are economic pressures such as boycotts or strikes available.

The "Freedom School" is one direct action activity that may be useful; the work camp another. Work camps, for example, can clean up vacant lots for playgrounds, or similar projects.

Chapter 1 is concluded as follows: "In summary, strategy should be determined and modified by the degree of political awareness of the Negro community, the proportion of Negroes in the

**[REDACTED]**

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY  
AMERICAN FRIENDS PLACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA,  
PA.

total community, the strength of the organization (including leadership), potential outside help where this is a positive factor, the economic situation (vulnerability) of the Negro and white communities, the national picture, and local needs. Good leadership should be able to develop a constructive and workable strategy based on the participation of the community in the strategy decision."

#### Setting Up An Organization (Chapter 2)

The manual states that all organizations have three primary functions: policy making, organization and education (including both education of the group itself and public relations.)

The civil rights group must be organized into a caucus; a floor leader must be designated; members should be scattered throughout the audience; the best speaker should be saved until last in an exchange from the floor. (When working as a minority in another group.)

The manual then cites several specific points, some of which are taken from CHARLES WALKER's "Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action."

1. Set up executive committee and officers.
2. Plan a timetable for action.
3. Set up a headquarters in the field where needed.
4. Insure that finances are kept "fanatically clean."
5. Office supplies, communications, equipment, etc., must be on hand where they are needed. Record keeping is a problem. Certain records are necessary, but it should be borne in mind that they may be seized.
6. Secrecy is pointless if your opponents are determined. They can plant informants and electronic devices so that your activities will be an open book.